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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

HALF LOAF PHILOSOPHY.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

THE defeat in the Senate of the proposed amendment to the Constitution regulating the basis of representation is properly regarded by the great mass of the Union party as a serious misfortune, and their regret is embittered by the fact that the responsibility for this result rests upon the shoulders of those Republican Senators who cast their votes with the Democratic minority.

The political conditions of the present time are such that the members of the Union party are required to subject all differences in non-essential matters to those considerations by which the unity and strength of the party may be preserved for the sake of accomplishing the chief objects of its existence, and of securing the success of those principles, to maintain which the people have sacrificed so much during the past four years. If the war is to be followed by a permanent and happy peace, this result is only to be brought about by the steadiness, the patience and the good sense of the present majority in Congress. The man who allows himself to differ from his associates, through motives of personal ambition or vanity, or who is governed by purely speculative considerations, is violating his first duty to his country. The wise statesman and the true patriot is not he who clings to an abstraction, or arrogates to himself the exclusive possession of truth and morality, but he who labors in a spirit of conciliation and modesty to secure the best possible practical result. Any mistake of judgment will be sooner forgiven by the country than the display of impracticability of temper, or of a disposition to sacrifice the interests of the nation to a personal prepossession. It is only by unity of counsel that great misfortunes can be prevented.

The course of Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, and Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, shows that we have some statesmen by whom this truth is felt and respected.

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The unfortunate collision between the President and Congress, and Mr. Johnson's precipitate adoption of the policy of immediately admitting the representatives of the Southern States, has unquestionably settled the fate of a good many of the projects for the amendment of the Constitution. For instance, the proposition, so tempting in theory, for making education the universal test of qualification for the suffrage, and those, too, which look to the establishment of a general and radical equality of civil and political rights and privileges, must now, we apprehend, be laid aside even by those who are most reluctant to admit their impracticability. Propositions of this sort labored from the outset under a heavy disadvantage, from the inability even of the loyal men of the North to agree in opinion, and from the strong local opposition, arising from interest or sentiment, which met them in various parts of the country. With these difficulties re-enforced by executive hostility, it would be temerity to risk anything upon the success of such measures as a part of the issue which the President has undertaken to make up for the decision of the people.

It is hardly necessary for us to reiterate our regret at this condition of things. Could the decision of the fundamental question of reconstruction have been postponed until public opinion had matured, the intelligence of the country might have recognized the value of the present opportunity, the best which it is easy to imagine, for establishing our government on a basis not only demonstrably but palpably sound. This delay, however, has been denied us. The main point in dispute is brought up for early settlement, as if by a peremptory call for the previous question, and it is but too evident that, as the case now stands, there is small chance of the success of propositions of that broad and generous character which we have indicated, and which every friend of enlightened progress instinctively prefers. Not, indeed, that there is any imminent danger of action upon the question of admission without some precedent condition of amendment. Even if they cannot agree upon that which is theoretically just, the Union party can still agree to insist upon delay; but it may be doubted whether mere delay in the midst of such agitation as has now begun will serve any valuable purpose.

In this state of things, we are disposed to make a very different estimate of the claims of the amendment, known as Mr. Blaine's, which has already passed the lower House of Congress, from that which we have hitherto been willing to admit. That amendment, as we have repeatedly taken occasion to say, is not objectionable in itself in point of principle; it is a skilful expedient for accomplishing the ends aimed at by one or two previous propositions, without laying itself open to the same grave objections; and the most serious ground of opposition to it has been, in our opinion, that it accomplished too little; that it promised to secure little beyond the reduction of the representation based on those who were lately slaves, and did not promise a sufficiently thorough cure of the evil of political discrimination on the ground of color. Mr. Fessenden's speech in reply to Mr. Sumner showed that we were not alone in wishing for something more than is given by this amendment, and that even the chairman of the committee of fifteen gave it his powerful support on the ground that it is the best measure which is now to be had, rather than from original preference.

The state of things which has arisen in the last week has, in our judgment, conclusively established the correctness of Mr. Fessenden's position, and settled the question as to the duty of every patriotic citizen in this matter. We cannot resist the conviction that it would be criminal folly at this juncture to withhold support from a measure which does at any rate accomplish some good objects, and which is probably the only one for which the vote required by the Constitution can be obtained,—a measure which a large and carefully constituted committee urges, after a full survey of the ground, and which there is now so much additional reason for regarding as the best that we are likely to obtain. If, with this amendment carried to regulate the apportionment of representation, another to prohibit discriminations on the ground of color can also be carried, or to make education the basis of the suffrage, we shall welcome the unexpected success of sound principles; but we shall not in the meantime consent to lose hold of the point gained by Mr. Blaine's proposition. The practical good which that places within our reach must not be endangered, in a state of things like the present, by grasping at a theoretical perfection which is practically unattainable.

In short, we apprehend that the question in this conjuncture for statesmen at Washington and for their constituents at home is, what is the best solution to be had,—not, what is that which we most desire. For our own part, we frankly say that we can now see no reason for believing that anything more efficient than the proposition which has passed the House and is now before the Senate is to be hoped for from this Congress. And we take leave to say that, in our judgment, the country will not hold any man guiltless of what may befall, who now takes the responsibility of opposing a measure with which it appears that all our hopes for future security and quiet must stand or fall. Especially, we believe, will no statesman of the Republican party be upheld, who now sacrifices this opportunity of effecting something in the right direction, to a personal preference for a more complete and elaborate system of legislative expedients. If the present opportunity for adjustment is to be lost, let the wrong lie at the door of the Democratic party and of that new and nondescript faction which has recently joined it; but let no Republican stand chargeable with such a wanton risking of the highest interests of this country.

Of the prospects of the amendment after it shall have passed the Senate, it is impossible to say much with certainty. It would doubtless be carried in the States now represented in Congress with nearly the same substantial unanimity secured by the anti-slavery amendment. In the lately insurgent States, its fate would depend chiefly upon the direction in which the executive influence should be exercised, and upon the strength of the conviction that here is the *ultimatum* of Congress on the question of representation. We are not without hope that a strong demonstration of Northern opinion would have its effect upon the Executive, if not upon the Southern Legislatures directly, and would thus secure the controlling influence in favor of a measure which, after all, closely resembles that of which Mr. Johnson has more than once expressed his approval.

But, however this may be, we cannot doubt that there is now an imperative necessity for the immediate definition of the policy of Congress by a measure of this sort. The President makes his appeal to the country for the immediate admission of the Southern representatives, as against a Congress which has so far been unable to say whether it is for early admission, or for delay, or for admission with conditions. Without rating very highly the strength of the diversion of Republican strength made by Mr. Johnson, we believe that Congress cannot afford to accept the issue as it is thus presented. It must make its own counter-proposition in distinct form; and we now see no form in which such a proposition can be made with better promise of success, than that in which it has been cast by the committee of fifteen.

Selections.

HENRY WINTER DAVIS ON RECONSTRUCTION.

From the Missouri Democrat.

IN May last, in response to inquiry, the Hon. Henry Winter Davis wrote a letter setting forth with his characteristic clearness and cogency his views upon the problem of reconstruction. This letter has hitherto remained unpublished. The consent of Mrs. Davis to the publication having been obtained, a friend at Washington transmits to us the manuscript, and we have thus the pleasure of presenting to our readers a document which strikes us as ranking among the most masterly expositions of the subject involved, that has yet appeared. Following is the letter:

BALTIMORE, May 27, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR: Please accept my acknowledgments for your kind note.

I wish I could give you a short and satisfactory answer to your brief and pregnant question touching our prospects under President Johnson.

The future of the nation is summed up in the restoration of political power to the States lately in rebellion.

Of what the President's policy is on that topic I know nothing.

The conditions of the problem are plain, and the consequences of the several possible solutions follow with logical certainty. It rests with the President, in the state in which Congress has left the question, to take the initiative; and the mode in which that is done will determine all that follows. Whatever State Governments he allows to be organized and to elect Representatives and Senators to Congress, will be recognized by Congress in December, in all probability.

None exist now in any State which rebelled; none can be organized legally without the assent of the United States; and no steps to secure that assent can be taken without his permission.

The President's only power over the question rests in his right to refuse permission for any convention or election to be held unless on terms satisfactory to him; but that power is decisive. If he refuse to permit any election or any convention to be held, things will await the solution of Congress.

If he permits the aggregate white population of the South, qualified to vote under the old governments abrogated by the rebellion, to organize State Governments, that installs the revolutionary faction in power in the States and fills Congress with their Representatives and Senators.

That is to place the sceptre in the hands from which we have just wrested the sword.

If the President attempt to discriminate the loyal from the disloyal, and exclude from voting all who have given aid and comfort to the rebellion, a mere handful of the population will remain, wholly incompetent to form or maintain a State Government, and sure to be overwhelmed by the political counter-revolution at the next election, which will restore power to the leaders of the rebellion. While it stands under the protection of the United States, it will constitute an odious oligarchy, disposing of the lives and property of the great mass of their fellow-citizens, without any responsibility, and controlling the national legislation by the people for whom they vote.

This result is unavoidable. The whole mass of the population of the South has given aid and comfort to the rebellion. The war was made by the accession of the Union men to the rebel faction. It is idle to talk of a quiescent mass of loyal men overborne by violence. It was the Union men who passed the ordinance of Secession in Virginia and who made it effectual after it was passed. In no State was the rebellion dangerous without the active aid of those opposed to secession.

But the United States had no friends in the rebel States against those States, and *they have none to-day.*

The Union men of the South preferred Union and peace to disunion; they deplored the outbreak of war, but they never hesitated a moment which side to take. If there was to be war, they were for their States and against the United States. There was no respectable number of Union men willing to aid the United States in compelling submission to the Constitution, and there are *none now. All* submit to *force.* Many are willing to acquiesce in the unavoidable. *All* are willing to govern the United States again, since independence is impossible; but all were also willing to aid the rebellion; and not an assault and battery was committed for the United States from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Union men of the South did not merely bow to overbearing force, but they hastened to seek places in the Legislatures, the Congress, the Executive mansions, and gave it a countenance and support without which it must have fallen in a year; and when its cause was hopeless they were quiet and submissive, and did not rise to aid the United States.

It is certainly to this class of the white population that we must look for aid in restoring civil government in these States; but it is a great delusion to suppose them either bold or strong enough to meet and defy the united and energetic faction of revolutionists which drove them into rebellion. If they be in power, they will again do the will of the resolute and reckless men who stood behind and around them, and no legal line discriminates them from the rebel mass.

If this discrimination be attempted by the oath to support the *Constitution* of the United States, *everybody* will take it and nobody will be excluded.

If the *leaders* of the rebellion, civil and military, be excluded, though willing to submit and take the oath, the *mass* of the rebel faction will be admitted; and that will be the controlling and determining element in constituting the State Government and selecting Representatives and Senators; and the practical result is the same as if *nobody* were excluded.

If either of these forms be accepted by the President and recognized by Congress, it will instantly change the balance of political power in the United States.

It is probable the people who have saved the nation are not content to accept its consequences without a murmer.

None of the white population of the Southern States is interested in paying the public debt or imposing taxes to meet its interest. They hold none of it. It was created to subjugate them to the laws. It has been consumed in their overthrow. It is to be paid in great part out of their substance. It has annihilated their public debt. It has filled the land with ostracized officers, with wounded soldiers, with an odious free negro population, lately their slaves, and still under their political control.

If the whites be restored to political power, their representatives are interested in repudiating that Public Debt, in refusing to pay its interest, in restoring their officers to the army and navy, in placing their wounded on the pension roll, in indemnifying their friends for losses by war or confiscation or forced tax sales, in restoring slavery under the forms of apprenticeship or fixed wages and compulsory service and discriminating and oppressive legislation. The effort has already been made in Tennessee, and the spirit which dictated it pervades the whole South, and will find statutes ready to its hand in every State. In Congress, a minority can arrest legislation. A majority of either House can compel submission to any terms, under penalty of arresting or disorganizing the Government.

The representatives from the States lately in rebellion will form a powerful and hostile minority, and if they do not find enough enemies of the Government from the States now represented to give them a majority in one House for some of the purposes above indicated, the near past throws no light on the near future. The prospect of political disorganization will present few terrors to people still hot with rebellion, smarting under the overthrow, and quite as content to ruin as to rule the country.

To expect them to join in electing a Republican President would be an amiable delusion which the first election would dispel; and they might find it some indemnity for emancipation if the increased vote they would cast in the name of their freed slaves should happen to decide the contest and elevate them to power.

If the people are ready for these consequences, then there is no difficulty in restoring political power to the Southern States. Louisiana or Virginia will serve as models; or other forms will grow with mushroom rapidity.

But if it be important that the *friends* and not the *enemies* of the Government shall continue to govern it, other measures must be taken.

The State Governments in the South must be placed in hands interested to maintain the authority of the United States. It is not enough that conquered people are willing to submit to entitle them to govern us. The United States must find friends interested and able to suppress hostility to its authority and to discharge all the functions of government, State and National, in the face of every disloyal or hostile power. And the power of those who rebelled must be curbed by those who did not rebel, aided by those who joined the rebellion reluctantly and are anxious to atone for their error or weakness.

This can be done *only* by recognizing the negro population as an integral part of the *people of the Southern States; and by refusing to permit any State Government to be organized on any other basis than universal suffrage and equality before the law.*

Whatever anomalies may have been winked at during the era of slavery, it may well be doubted if, without a serious blow at our principles, any government can be recognized as republican in form which excludes from suffrage and equal laws a majority of the citizens of the States, as would be the case in South Carolina and Mississippi, or half the citizens, as would be the case in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia, if the negro citizens be disfranchised.

It is certain that Governments which declared them equal before the law, and recognized universal suffrage, would be republican in form and substance also. It is equally certain that such a Constitution in the Southern States is the only one consistent with the national peace and safety: and Congress has the right and, I think, ought to refuse to recognize any State Government in those States not on that basis.

But the white people of the States which rebelled will not organize Governments on that basis. No considerable portion of the white population of those States is in favor of it. The loyal are as much against it as the rebel leaders.

None will adopt it of themselves, nor will they adopt it on the request and under the influence of the President.

But all will submit to it if exacted, and accept it if unavoidable.

To submit the question to the loyal voters of the State assumes the existence of a State government and a Constitution defining the right of suffrage, and making loyalty a condition.

But there are no such Constitutions in any State which rebelled. The United States have refused to recognize any State governments in *any* of those States.

There are, heretofore, no State governments and no voters in any of the rebel States.

There are *States*, and people of those States—both known to the Constitution of the United States.

And the negroes are as integral a part of the people of the State as the whites. Both are citizens; neither has a right to exclude the other: neither can speak in the name of the State for the other; it is the equal right of both to be heard and represented in constituting their common government, and any proposal to submit the question of the political or civil rights of the negroes to the arbitrament of the whites is as unjust and as absurd as to submit the question of the political rights of the whites to the arbitrament of the negroes—with this difference, that the negroes are loyal everywhere and the great body of the whites disloyal everywhere.

The problem therefore is solved by a simple appeal to the people of the State.

No election can be held, no convention assemble, no political authority be legally exercised in any of those States but by the will of the United States, and for the present, till Congress speaks, by the will of the President.

If, therefore, the President will declare that no election shall be held unless the negro population have a free and equal voice, that no convention shall assemble which they have not helped to elect, that none shall proceed to frame a government unless in the beginning universal suffrage and equality before the law be declared its fundamental basis, the problem is solved.

If those conditions be accepted, the Constitution will be presented to Congress, and the government recognized which it forms.

If they be not accepted, the President will hold the State till Congress declare how they shall be governed.

If the problem be not dealt with in this way, or some such way, it will be solved in an adverse sense.

If it be not solved *rightly* it threatens to degenerate into a barren and bitter agitation, sure to result disastrously to those who propose the political enfranchisement of the negroes, and to consolidate the union of the enemies of the Government in the loyal and the rebel States into an irresistible power, which must wrest the Government from the hands of those who have saved it. This coalition is probable in any event; but on this question it is certain and fatal.

The negro population must be recognized by the President and Congress as an integral part of the *people* of the State, in the view of the Constitution of the United Sates, without whose concurrence and full participation in power no State government will be recognized in any State which rebelled, or it will remain ostracised and outcast for another generation, and the enemies of the Government will wrest it from those who saved it.

To permit the whites to disfranchise the negroes is to permit those who have been our enemies to ostracise our friends. The negroes are the only persons in those States who have not been in arms against us. They have always and everywhere been friendly and not hostile to us. They alone have a deep interest in the continued supremacy of the United States, for their freedom depends on it. On them alone can we depend to suppress a new insurrection. They alone will be included to vote for the friends of the Government in all the Southern States. They alone have sheltered, fed and pioneered our starved and hunted brethren through the swamps and woods of the South, in their flight from those who now aspire to rule them.

The shame and folly of deserting the negroes are equaled by the wisdom of recognizing and protecting their power.

They will form a clear and controlling majority against the united white vote in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

With a very small accession from the loyal whites, they will form a majority in Alabama, Georgia and Virginia.

Unaided in all those States, they will be a majority in many congressional and legislative districts, and that alone suffices to break the terrible and menacing unity of the Southern vote in Congress.

If organized and led by men having their confidence, the negroes will prove as powerful and loyal at the polls as they have already, in the face of equal clamor and equal prejudice, proved themselves under such leaders on the field of battle.

To those who say they are unfit for the franchise, I reply they are more fit than secessionists.

If they be ignorant they are not more so than large masses of the white voters of the South, or the rabble which is tumbled on the wharves of New York and runs straight to the polls.

However ignorant, they know enough to be on the side of the Government, and the intelligence of the master has not yet taught him that wisdom.

They may be influenced by the master, but the master must touch his hat to them at least, and it will be an open question whether they will vote with the master any more than they fought on his side. It is certain the Northern immigrant will find the negro a steady ally, and arguments on his lips will lose no weight by their Yankee origin.

It is said not to be safe for the master to visit his plantations in Georgia; when he does he will hardly carry much influence politically.

I repeat that in this problem are involved the issues of life and death.

If the negro population be recognized as an integral portion of the people of the States which rebelled, and governments be organized, on the basis of universal suffrage and equality before the law, Congress ought to recognize them, and the problem is solved forever.

If governments be allowed by the President to be organized on the basis of the exclusion of the mass of the negro population, then Congress ought to refuse to recognize them; but I fear it will not refuse.

If the question be submitted to the vote of any portion of the white population, the negroes will be excluded from power.

The result entails on us a barren agitation instead of a beneficent settlement. It carries with it a division of the friends of the Government and threatens to elevate its enemies to power.

For premature agitators, I have small sympathy. They are cocks which crow at midnight; they do not herald the dawn, but merely disturb natural rest by untimely clamor.

But this is a question of political dynamics, which presses now for solution, and on it depends the chief fruits of the war.

If it be not rightly solved *now*, it will find no solution for a generation, and possibly none then without renewed civil commotions. Over the result I have no power. I can only hope and fear.

Your obedient servant, H. WINTER DAVIS.

CONGRESS.

[The Senate on Friday disposed of the New Jersey Senator question in manner as follows:]

AT the expiration of the morning hour the case of Mr. Stockton, Senator from New Jersey, was taken up.

Mr. Howe addressed the Senate. Whatever may be the decision of the Senate, said he, it cannot affect the personal or political character of the Senator, Mr. Stockton. He has already a decision in his favor pronounced by a Committee of this body composed of a large majority of his political opponents, embracing some of the best, if not the best legal talent in the Senate. If, therefore, the Senate decide not to admit his claims to a seat here, there can be no party advantage derived to the party in the majority. The only way possible for the majority to take advantage by the decision of this question, is by indicating exactly the law of the land, and vindicating what is positively, abstractly and legally right to be done. So far as I have examined the question at all, I have examined it in its reference to the law to see what is the law of the case, and if I were very certain that my conclusions were correct, I should feel bound to abide by the report of the Committee which has investigated and reported upon the question; but it does seem to me that there were two questions, which if put to the Senate one after the other, would have no diversity of opinion upon either among the members of the Senate. It does seem to me that if I asked the Senate whether the vote given in that joint convention for the present Senator from New Jersey, would have elected him under the laws of that State in case there had been no rules of the joint convention pronounced, I think every member of the Senate will say no, certainly not. If that joint convention had never declared by rule that a plurality of the votes given should constitute an election, and the convention had given precisely the vote they had given on this occasion, viz., 40 votes for the Senator from New Jersey, and 41 votes against the Senator from New Jersey, I do not think there is a single Senator on this floor but would have said at once: Of course he cannot have been elected by any such vote as that. Why? Simply because forty votes cannot overturn forty-one; a minority cannot control a majority in the absence of a rule giving them authority to do so. But if I put the other question to the Senate, whether a joint convention of the Houses of the Legislature can by any rule repeal, or modify, or change a law of the State, I think every Senator will say at once, certainly not. The two Houses in joint convention cannot make a law, repeal a law, modify a law or change a law. That would be the judgment of every Senator here. Upon that single question you will decide advisedly. Then, if these two questions are put separately, and answered in that way in the negative, how happens it that both of them are overruled when we come to consider the effect of them together? Mr. Howe argued that the joint convention had not legislative powers, and that it had no right to adopt a rule for the election of the plurality candidate.

Mr. Fessenden asked if the Legislature had prescribed a majority rule for the government of the convention, could the convention have set it aside and adopted a plurality rule?

Mr. Stockton said it was his opinion that it could not; but the failure of the Legislature to prescribe rules left the convention free to adopt its own rules.

Mr. Fessenden said that if, as was claimed by some Senators, the joint convention was the Legislature, and had legislative power, it had a right to repeal a law as well as make one.

Mr. Trumbull said that, as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee who made the report before the Senate, coming to the conclusion that Mr. Stockton was entitled to his seat, and having arrived at the conclusion, after as careful an investigation of the question as he and those associated with him were capable of, he considered it incumbent upon him to state, after this somewhat protracted debate, the considerations by which they were governed in coming to that decision. In doing so the only object he had, the only object he supposed any one had, was that the law of the question might be properly settled. It is purely a legal question, submitted to the Senate as Judges. My only desire is that the Senate shall not make an erroneous decision in so important a matter as the representation of the States here, or the right of a member to his seat. The Constitution of the United States provides that the Senate shall consist of two members from each State, to be chosen by the Legislatures thereof. The question is, what is the Legislature? By some it is supposed that it is that body acting in the same capacity as it acts in the enactment of laws for the State. But, sir, a different construction has prevailed, and it has been settled by precedents from the formation of the Government that the word "legislature" used here in the Constitution, is a description of the body that is to make this election. It makes the election by a separate vote of each House, a vote of the two Houses concurring; or the members of both Houses may assemble together and make the election. The latter is the more general practice throughout the United States. Very few, or considerably less than half, of the States at this time elect by the concurrent action of the two Houses. Mr. Trumbull here read from Story on this question, and continued: It being admitted that the Legislature named in the Constitution of the United States is the General Assembly of both bodies, and that that joint Assembly, when met, has authority to elect, it matters not, in that body, whether the successful candidate received a single vote of one of the bodies; if he obtains votes enough from the other, he is legally elected. For instance: In the State of New Jersey they have a General Assembly, as it is called, of sixty members of the House and twenty-one of the Senate. Nobody will question that when met together for the purpose of electing a United States Senator, if forty-one of the members of the House of Representatives had voted for a particular candidate and every Senator and the balance of the House of Representatives had voted against him, he would have been elected. So that the two bodies are merged into one when they meet. Then this mode of election is a proper one by the joint convention.

Mr. Trumbull then referred to the legal authority given to the joint convention to prescribe its own rules. It had done so from time immemorial—it had been so since 1794, and it had a right to prescribe the plurality rule. Most of the members of the other House were then chosen by a plurality vote. The common law of England was that in all elections in which the elections were not restricted to a certain number of candidates a plurality vote elected.

Mr. Sumner said there were two kinds of elections in England. In popular elections a plurality vote elected; but in corporations or elections by corporated bodies it required a majority.

Mr. Yates desired to ask Mr. Trumbull a question: He desired to know whether there was an instance in which a person, who had not received a majority of votes had been declared Senator?

Mr. Trumbull said he did not know.

Mr. Yates asked whether, if a proposition for the election of Senators was pending in the Illinois Legislature, it would be right to receive a Senator in this body who had not received a majority of the votes? He would ask another question. His colleague (Mr. Trumbull) had asserted that a majority of the New Jersey Legislature, which was forty-one, was sufficient to conduct an election for Senators, and that a majority of forty, which is twenty-one, would therefore, be sufficient to elect. He (Mr. Yates) would admit this, but his colleague (Mr. Trumbull) had taken the ground that if there were several candidates, and the votes were so distributed as to give the highest candidate but five votes, the candidate receiving five votes would be duly elected.

Mr. Trumbull said his colleague had selected an extreme case.

Mr. Yates said he contended that this was a Government of majorities, and that majorities alone could elect.

Mr. Trumbull asked his colleague if he did not know that every member of the other House is elected by a plurality. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes is elected.

Mr. Yates said he admitted the right of a plurality to elect where it was so provided by law.

Mr. Trumbull said that in admitting that much his colleague had answered his own question. The rule of the Convention was a law.

At the conclusion of Mr. Trumbull's remarks, Mr. Sumner spoke of the necessity of a majority vote to make a valid election, and quoted precedents from ancient and modern history to establish his position.

The question was taken, at the conclusion of Mr. Sumner's remarks, on Mr. Clark's amendment to insert the word "not" in two places in the resolution reported by the Judiciary Committee, so as to make it read:

Resolved, That John P. Stockton was not duly elected, and is not entitled to his seat as a Senator from New Jersey for the term of five years from the 4th of March, 1865.

The yeas and nays were demanded by Mr. Hendricks on the adoption of the above amendment, and the amendment was disagreed to, yeas, 19, nays 21.

YEAS—Messrs. Brown, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Cragin, Creswell, Fessenden, Grimes, Howe, Kirkwood, Lane of Indiana, Nye, Pomeroy, Ramsay, Sherman, Sprague, Sumner, Wade, Yates—19.

NAYS—Messrs. Anthony, Buckalew, Cowan, Davis, Foster, Guthrie, Harris, Henderson, Hendricks, Johnson, Lane of Kansas, McDougal, Morgan, Nesmith, Norton, Poland, Riddle, Saulsbury, Stewart, Trumbull, Willey—21.

ABSENT, OR NOT VOTING—Messrs. Dixon, Doolittle, Foot, Howard, Morrill, Stockton, Van Winkle, Williams, Wilson, Wright—10.

Mr. Stewart stated that Mr. Doolittle had paired with Mr. Williams, and Mr. Van Winkle had paired with Mr. Howard.

The announcement of so close a vote created great excitement on the floor and in the galleries. Mr. Sumner uttered in an audible voice, "Where is Wilson? Send for Wilson," etc., and there was much confusion on both sides of the chamber.

The Chair announced the vote, and said the amendment was not adopted, and the question was upon the resolution as reported by the Committee.

The vote was then taken on the resolution given above without the word "not," proposed by Mr. Clarke's amendment, the result was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Buckalew, Cowan, Davis, Foster, Guthrie, Harris, Hendricks, Henderson, Johnson, Lane of Kansas, McDougall, Morgan, Nesmith, Norton, Poland, Riddle, Saulsbury, Stewart, Trumbull, Willey—21.

NAYS—Messrs. Brown, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Cragin, Creswell, Fessenden, Grimes, Howe, Kirkwood, Lane of Indiana, Nye, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Sumner, Wade, Wilson, Yates—20.

Before the above vote was announced the confusion increased on the floor.

Mr. Sumner called loudly to Mr. Morrill to vote, and Mr. Morrill recorded his vote in the negative.

Mr. Stockton then rose and said he held in his hand a dispatch from his colleague, Mr. Wright, stating that he (Wright) had paired with Mr. Morrill, and that he would not have gone home if he had not been able to do so on this question. A day or two since Mr. Morrill came to him (Stockton) and told him he would be compelled to vote on this question, and asked him to notify Mr. Wright to that effect, but it was too late for him to arrive here to vote. Believing Mr. Morrill to have violated the agreement between him (Morrill) and his colleague, he would ask the clerk to call his (Stockton's) name.

Mr. Stockton's name was called, and he voted in the affirmative. This left the vote 22 yeas against 21 nays.

Several Senators—You can't vote in your own case.

Several other Senators—He has as good a right to vote as Morrill has.

Mr. Morrill rose to make an explanation. He remarked that what Mr. Stockton had said was substantially correct. It was true he had paired off with Mr. Wright. But on Wednesday evening he informed Mr. Stockton that he would feel constrained to vote on this question, and he then suggested to Mr. Stockton to notify Mr. Wright of this fact. Such a length of time had elapsed since he paired that he did not feel bound by it.

The remark was again made by several Senators in an undertone, "A man can't vote for himself in such a case."

Mr. Sumner, among others, was heard in the galleries to say, very excitedly, "It is a part of the law of nations that a man shall not vote in his own case."

Mr. Nye, addressing the Chair, said it was proper for him, being a new member, to inquire whether a member is entitled to vote in his own case, as had just been done.

Mr. Foster, in the chair, said there was no rule on the subject. Mr. Stockton's name was upon the roll, and until the Senate decided to remove it, it must be called with other names.

The Chair then announced the vote on the adoption of the resolution, declaring that Mr. Stockton was duly elected, and is entitled to his seat, to be yeas 22, nays 21.

So the resolution was adopted.

[And so by the report of the Committee, by rulings of the President of the Senate, *by his own vote in his own case*, by right or wrong, or both, John P. Stockton is a member of the Senate of the United States from the sovereign State of New Jersey. His State Legislature gave him forty votes out of eighty-one. Not a majority. The United States Senate voted twenty-one to twenty-one, and thus hung him in suspense. He then voted for himself, and his works saved him. His admission, in the style of it, reminds us of the entrance of King George III. into heaven, as given in Lord Byron's "Vision of the Judgment," all but the hundredth psalm.

The Senate then voted to rest from its labors till Monday.]

SHARP DISCRIMINATION.—The *Evening Post* says: "The female clerks employed in the Treasury Department at Washington recently petitioned for penknives, alleging the smallness of their salaries. An order was accordingly issued to the clerk in charge of stationery, to make an estimate of the probable cost, and in the report rendered we find that the price of a knife for a gentleman clerk is two dollars, for a "laborer employed in the offices" a dollar and a half, and for a female clerk a dollar and a quarter." How about *scissors*, many thousands of pairs of which are used in the departments? Who pays most for them?

MORAL AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

[Sometimes the political journals have a lucid moment, and are able to say things sane and sensible, which keeps alive hope that neither darkness nor depravity is *total*, as many fear and even believe. The new York *Times* of last Thursday enjoyed a moment of reason returned, and spoke on this wise of interior reconstruction:]

ALL through the late war, as is the case during all wars, society North and South was restless, and continually craving for sensations and excitement. We do not refer to the anxieties of those whose fathers and brothers and sons were arrayed against each other. Their eagerness for news was but the self-assertion of natural affection. But it is of the careless, giddy crowd, the mere seekers of wealth and of pleasure, to whom battles lost or won were important, but as influences upon the prices of stocks and gold, the speculators who hoarded up gains accruing from national disaster, the upstart youth who did not go to fight for their country but strutted in affected superiority over mere soldiers, the suddenly grown rich, the disorganizers of society in the true sense of the term, to whom we refer. They mischief which they have done is, in large cities, very considerable, and much of it still remains.

The temptations held out to the young have, under their patronage, grown in number and in viciousness. The methods of squandering money—by gambling, intemperance, rioting and worse vices still—were never so numerous in New York, for instance, as they are now. The love of home has never been so weakened as by the reckless dissipation that causes deep regret in the minds of thoughtful persons. The parents of young men and women are, it is said, too intent upon their own pleasure to exercise supervision over those of their children, while those children, or more properly youth, are left at liberty to follow their own inclinations, without much reference to place or time. In fact, we are fast tending to a Parisian standard of social amusements and social morals.

Amid the earnest discussions on political reconstruction, it seems to us that the study of social reconstruction may advantageously occupy public attention. A low standard of individual character is a very dangerous adjunct of any community. The virtues of a people are their surest safeguard in all times of public peril, whether internecine or from abroad. There is no surer way in which to sap the foundations even of a republic than to wink at the increasing viciousness of even a portion of its citizens. It is never safe for a growing generation to be allowed too much latitude in the employment of its leisure, and the boys and girls who are encouraged to think themselves men and women will probably, in future years, have little gratitude for the mistaken kindness which taught them to look upon life and its duties with careless levity.

THE NATIONAL DEBT AND ITS PAYMENT.

[In a recent speech in the House of Representatives, Mr. Scofield, of New York, made the following startling statements. A wasteful, extravagant people should consider them.]

"WHAT is the amount of indebtedness to be met, and when must it be met? To this question I invite the careful and earnest attention of the House. I shall give the official statement of the amount of our total indebtedness, and also of that portion soon to become due. The amount of our public debt on the first day of this month was $2,711,850,000. Less than half of this amount is funded. Within the next three years $1,600,000,000 of this debt will fall due and will be presented at the counter of the Treasury Department for payment. That payment must be promptly made or our paper goes to protest and our credit is broken. I hold in my hand an official table showing the amount of our indebtedness that matures each half year for the next two years, which, after a word of explanation, I will read.

"There was on the last day of February, 1866, a portion of our debt in the form of a temporary loan to the amount of $119,335,194 50, payable at the option of the lender after ten days' notice. It would hardly be fair to reckon that whole amount as payable within the first six months, yet as it may be called for at any time, and is the least valuable form of loan, it must be added to the statement of indebtedness soon to be met. With this explanation, and supposing the payment of this loan to be demanded within the next six months, I call attention to the facts exhibited in the table.

"Between this day and the 30th day of June next we must pay, in addition to the regular expenditure of the government, $138,674,874 82. During the six months ending December 31, 1866, we must pay $47,655,000. During the six months ending June 30, 1867, we must pay $8,471,000. During the six months ending December 31, 1867, we must pay $350,000,000. During the six months ending June 30, 1868, we must pay $369,415,250. During the six months ending December 31, 1868, we must pay $287,564,482. So that between this and the assembling of the next Congress there must be paid over the counter of the treasury, besides the ordinary expenses of the government, $1,201,890,607, 62.

HAVANA.—MORE OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

A CORRESPONDENT of the New York *Times* writes under date Havana, Friday, March 16, 1866:

Another tragic incident in the slave trade, by which at least eighty human beings have perished from hunger and thirst, has just been brought to light.

The facts of the case, as far as can be known from public rumor, are these: Two slavers, with their cargoes of human flesh, just arrived from unhappy Africa, attempted to land the wretched beings whom they had on board somewhere on the north side of the island, about or near to Mariel, there being several convenient places in that direction for carrying on the illicit trade. The coast, however, was so vigilantly guarded that it was found impossible to succeed in doing so, and the slavers, after cruising about for some time, were wrecked, it is reported, or, at least, one of them, on some of the banks off Cape Antonio, at the western extremity of the island; but whether this was the case or not I cannot say for certain, as everything connected with the slave trade is shrouded in so inpenetrable a secresy that it is impossible for any outsider to get at the least glimmering of the truth beyond the gossip of the hour. However, whether the vessels were wrecked or not, it is known for certain that eighty of the unfortunate wretches perished of hunger and thirst on one of the said banks off the coast where they had been landed, either through the accident already mentioned, or to conceal them from the Government vessels which were sent in pursuit of the slavers.

It appears that the Captain-General had been made cognizant of the attempted landing, and also that a schooner had been sent from this port with provisions for the slavers. He, in consequence, dispatched the Spanish war-steamer Neptune, the commander of which is the son of the Admiral at this station, in pursuit, and that vessel took one of the slavers; the other, it is said, remaining aground where it was wrecked, but whether this latter is true or not I cannot say, as the number of negroes captured does not appear enough to have loaded two vessels. The Neptune arrived here on Saturday last with the captured negroes in bond, amounting to 275 in number, and having in tow the coasting schooner Matilde, which was also captured, as 100 negroes were found on board of her sailing along the coast. The negroes on board of the Matilde, which at first were supposed to be of African birth, called here *bozales*, were furnished with the necessary papers, and were said to be the property of Don Francisco Marty, and were on their way to a sugar estate of Don Ricardo O'Faebill who had hired them. They have, therefore, been released. The remainder were, on their arrival, put in jail for safe custody until the authorities shall have arranged how to dispose of them.

It would be almost impossible to state who are the guilty parties engaged in the nefarious transaction, although public gossip points to certain individuals notorious for their connection with this illicit commerce, and who, notwithstanding, hold a high position here in society. Whether their names will be ever made public it is impossible to say; but

one thing is certain, that no punishment would be too severe for the wretches who, in the pursuit of profit, sacrifice the lives of their fellow-creatures by wholesale for a pecuniary advantage. LARA.

A DISTANT VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT.

A LONDON correspondent of the New York *Tribune* writes as follows of the present attitude of the President, under date London, March 10, 1856:

President Johnson—to begin with the subject of most interest to American readers, and afford you a faithful reflex of opinion here on your own concerns—is, just now, the most popular of his countrymen with their natural enemies. All the nobs and the snobs, the tories and partisans of the late rebellion, the haters of Republicanism and the believers in the right divine of the few to rule the many for their own selfish ends, are delighted with him. Since they used to erupt into ignorant enthusiasm about Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson, I have seen nothing like it. The same persons and papers who, a year ago, reviled him as a drunken demagogue, a renegade, a brutal buffoon, a Robespierre, a Marat, and much more (I am careful not to overstate the case), now land him to the skies as a sage, a statesman, a hero, *another Andrew Jackson*, and what not, in consequence of his veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill. I could easily fill a page of the *Tribune* with extracts from editorials eulogizing this act—every one of them from papers identified with sympathy with the rebellion, but hardly send you "a stickful" of approval or even apology from our friends—those who proved themselves such when to do so was to run counter to the popular current and to expose themselves to inevitable obloquy and misrepresentation. They are discouraged; more so, I think, than you Republican Americans, who stand by Congress, and remember how God chose to use the insincerity and selfishness of McClellan and those akin to him to bring us nationally to a higher standard of political morals and compass his own great ends. Said an Englishman to me (and if I were permitted to give his name it would have weight on your side of the Atlantic), "This is the worst thing that has happened since the death of Abraham Lincoln. All along I, like many other friends of America, have distrusted that the old leaven of slavery wasn't extinct in you nationally, although you have paid such an awful price for it; that when the war was over you might try to patch up a peace, ignoring God's justice, or doing no more of it toward 'His image cut in ebony' than you could-help. Now we have the President formally going over to that side, and committing himself to all its lamentable consequences—making a brutal stump speech in the worst style of Southern stump oratory, which involves violent assertions and accusations that no unprejudiced man ought to read without a strong sense of national disgrace. The result must be to galvanize slavery into existence in some of its worst characteristics, and throw you all back again. Mr. Johnson doubtless means well, but he is doing his best to delay the pacification and prosperity of the South and your union as a united people for years." Such I believe to be the deliberate convictions of the most advanced of English men on our national crisis. Were I to fill my letter with comments on it, I could hardly say more.

ENGLISH OPINION OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

From the London Times, March 9.

THE memorable speech of President Johnson on Washington's birthday *would not have been unworthy of the great founder of the American Republic.* He, too, had reason to know that peace brings anxieties more formidable than all the ordeals of war, and the calm determination which carried him through them has justly won for him a foremost place among the rulers of mankind. Nor was the task of Washington after the recognition of American independence altogether unlike that of President Johnson since the subjugation of the South. The creation of the Union was then the first object of the American statesman, as the restoration of the Union is now, and if the principle of federalism was predominant in the mind of Washington, while that of State rights is uppermost in that of Mr. Johnson, it is only because the present danger proceeds from an opposite quarter. When the doctrine of State rights was pushed to extremes inconsistent with the existence of a Federal Republic, Mr. Johnson took his stand upon the same ground as his illustrious predecessor. Now that "a consolidation equally dangerous and objectionable with separation" is the avowed aim of the Radical party and that a committee appointed by a Congress from which the seceding States are excluded is assuming to dictate the terms of their readmission, Mr. Johnson interposes his authority to save the Constitution, and Washington would assuredly have done the same. There is, indeed, no answer to the pregnant argument which is at once the keynote to this remarkable speech, and the keystone of that conservative policy which Mr. Johnson inherited from Mr. Lincoln.

* * * * *

It is impossible not to admire the resolute will and truly patriotic spirit which give this outspoken declaration an interest far above the ordinary utterances of American Presidents. An equally striking merit, however, is its singular clearness as an exposition of the sentiments which distinguish Mr. Johnson's party, as it is now called, from those which have hitherto appeared to engross the whole field of Northern politics. He does not scruple to state that he ever was, and still is, for the Union at any price. Such was, doubtless, Mr. Lincoln's real opinion, and passages very similar in tone might probably be culled from his earlier addresses. But it is one thing to use language of this kind when the issue was still undecided, and the abolition of slavery had not yet become a military or political necessity; it is another thing to repeat it when its advocates are victorious, commanding a majority in Congress, and almost prepared to risk a fresh revolution rather than sacrifice the doctrine of negro equality.

* * * * *

There is one reflection that is almost forced upon us by the spectacle of these exciting conflicts on the other side of the Atlantic. *Political movements on so grand a scale quite dwarf our own domestic interests, and we are sometimes half tempted to envy a state of things which gives scope for the display of the highest public virtues.* No hereditary monarch, nor even an elective Emperor inheriting the traditions and administrative sytem of an hereditary monarchy, *can ever be placed in the same position as President Johnson; and it is to be feared that few Princes born in the purple would be capable of facing a great emergency with equal courage and dignity.* There is a stamp of reality and proud self-confidence in this appeal to the sovereign people which obliterates the effect of some indiscreet expressions, and makes us feel that *Mr. Johnson is equal to guiding the destinies of a great nation through a perilous crisis.* It is only civil war and the dire exigencies which arise out of it which can develop qualities of this type, or show the difference between Parliamentary ability and the powers of a Cromwell or a Washington.

From the London Daily News, March 9.

Mr. Johnson's speech was full of the old Tennessee spirit, with this important difference, that instead of being directed against the Southern disunionists, it was pointed at men but for whose public spirit and constancy under disappointment and misfortune he would not now be President of the United States. His denunciations, however, were not altogether without cause. *The President was defending himself against violent and unjust attacks.* He had been personally assailed *with a bitterness which has rarely been surpassed*, on account of his reconstruction policy, and since the promulgation of his veto on the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, has been denounced in Congress itself as a rebel and traitor, and as an "obstacle which must be got rid of." It is not, therefore, surprising that he should have spoken of his detractors with words of wrath. The problem of reconstruction is a very difficult one; it may be that the policy which the President is pursuing will not succeed in winning back the South, and yet it may be his duty to try it, and to hope for its success. *Nor will his present opponents have any right to taunt him with its eventual failure.* The difference between the President and the Radicals is, that his plan contemplates the whole Southern population, while they care only for the negroes. The President has plainly and repeatedly declared that for the present the negro must and shall be protected at the South by special legislative and administrative measures with the execution of which he is ready to charge himself. *It is, therefore, most unjust to represent him as opposed to measures necessary for the protection of the freedmen, and we cannot wonder at the indignation he expressed on Washington's birthday.* His speech was provoked by personal attacks; it was uttered in defence of the Constitution; and, unlike those to which it was a reply, it contained no menaces.

From the London Daily News, March 10.

Thus far, it is already clear that a vast preponderance of public opinion is with the President, and against the Congressional majority which ought not to have passed any measure so crowded with unconstitutional provisions as the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. The instant effect of Mr. Johnson's explanation of his veto was to convince several members, who thereupon voted against the bill instead of carrying it over the veto, as they might easily have done. It may be understood to be a settled point that the Southern people who desire to reenter the Union are not to be deprived of any essential or common constitutional rights for the protection of the body of the negro, who ought to be rendered safe at a much less cost.

LOYAL TENNESSEE.—The Nashville papers are full of news items pointing to great social disturbance and lawlessness throughout Tennessee. In Fayetteville a lady was dragged from her house and horribly treated by some unknown person. In Chattanooga a white girl was shot while cooking supper in one of the camps. In the Jackson *Whig* of the 10th instant, we also find the following: "On last Saturday night a negro staggered up to Mr. John Fry, and told him that he was stabbed to the heart, and fell dead. It is not known who did the deed. We learned on yesterday of another murder, where a negro boy was knocked in the head by another negro and instantly killed."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1866.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

SUBSCRIBERS will please note the bills enclosed in their STANDARDS, and oblige us by promptly remitting the amount due.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the City of NEW YORK, at the Church of the Puritans, on Union Square, on TUESDAY, May 8th, at 10 o'clock. In the evening, there will be another public meeting at 7½ o'clock. The names of speakers for these meetings will be duly announced.

On Wednesday morning at ten o'clock, the Society and its friends will hold a session for business, in the lecture room of the same church.

The rights of the Negro are to day in more fearful peril than at any period since the first fire on Sumter. We appeal to the friends of freedom to come together and see what may be and should be done to strengthen the hands and hearts of those who are fighting his battle.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Pres.

C. K. WHIPPLE, A. M. POWELL, } Secretaries.

"WILL CONGRESS STAND?"

In the present national peril, all eyes are turned towards Congress. Will Congress stand firmly up to the demands of the hour, is the anxious inquiry on every hand.

A question quite as pertinent and important is, whether the present position of that body is perpendicular, or inclining to at least an angle of forty-five degrees. And if prone to that extent, whether there be not danger that it will reach a lower humiliation still. In the ancient story, the curse upon the serpent was, "on thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." That anathema has been strikingly fulfilled, at least, in a metaphorical sense, on multitudes of Northern politicians, within the last quarter of a century. And however much we might rejoice to see the curse removed, it still lingers, and so millennial a morning has not yet dawned. Indeed, the serpent seems fast becoming the law-giver; and the reproach of the "*copperhead*" (his last baptismal name) is passing away.

The memorable words with which Mr. Webster opened his reply to Senator Hayne of South Carolina in 1831, may well be recalled here:

"When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally takes advantage of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence; and before we float farther on the waves of this discussion, let us return to the point from whence we departed, that we may at least be able to determine where we now are. I call for the reading of the resolution."

A little retrospect may not be inappropriate to us. The cannonade and surrender of Fort Sumter stirred the deeps of the nation. Mr. Lincoln, in virtue of the war power, could have made any proposal in the direction of Justice and Freedom, and he would have been sustained. The same would have been true after the Bull Run disaster. The issue of Letters of Marque and Reprisal by the Confederate government, authorizing piracy on our commerce, was a third golden moment for a right and righteous triumph, had the Executive been equal to the opportunity. Liberty might immediately have been proclaimed throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof. Gen. Fremont, by a partial proclamation sent more unalloyed joy through the North, and more terror through the realm of slavery and secession, than all the victories of the war together, including the fall of Richmond, and the final surrender of the Confederate army. For before that last event, the general demoralization had become such as that vast multitudes, North as well as South, regarded the surrender only in the light of a "*stooping to conquer*," on the part of the South; and many said, "it is difficult to determine whether Johnston surrendered to Sherman, or Sherman to Johnston."

But God did not yet forsake us altogether. Mr. Lincoln's last speech, adopted as a policy, would have been our ruin. So almost every loyal soul felt, as the nation followed, in long procession, his body to the tomb. The people had thought the war ended, and slavery dead for evermore. But while the dying dragon lay foaming and quivering in agony, his sting-armed tail swept suddenly round, and the victim was the honored, revered, and even tenderly-loved head of the nation, and the land was clothed in sorrow and mourning.

The hour for clemency evidently had not come. And the only source of comfort under the new calamity was, that in the new President we had one who would mingle stern justice with mercy; and execute swift and well deserved judgment on at least the leaders of such hordes of traitors, rebels and assassins! That he or any man or men would, over the dead corpses of half a million of our young and strong, and that sacrifice now rehallowed by the blood of the martyred President staining the streets of the capital, extend pardon and full reconciliation, with suffrage and citizenship, to such monsters as our foes had proved themselves, was not dreamed of in any part of the land, South or North. And all the first utterances of the new chief magistrate, were full warrant that now the cup of Southern iniquity was filled, and that stern justice must ascend the throne.

But to what all this came need not here be told. It is remembered only too well. All Summer men longed for the assembling of Congress. Not more desperately did Wellington cry at Waterloo, "O that night or Blucher were here!" But December and Congress came in due time, and the nation took heart and hope. Responsibilities more weighty and solemn were never before committed to human hands; and for a time, that body appeared to apprehend them in becoming manner and degree. Though the President had already usurped much unwarrantable authority, he had at least left to Congress, as he declared in his message, the right to decide who should or should not be admitted to its membership. His words were "it is for you, fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you, fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge each of you for yourselves, of the elections, returns, and qualifications of your own members."

In the Senate, work began promptly, vigorously. Intrepid old Ben Wade opened with a bill providing "that from and after its passage every male citizen of 21 years of age, who is a citizen of the United States, a resident of the District for six months, and never convicted of any infamous crime, shall have the right of suffrage in the District."

"Section second imposed a penalty for interruption or interference with the right granted above.

"The bill ordered to be printed.

"Mr. Sumner introduced a bill to provide that Grand Juries shall consist of one-half of persons of African descent in sections where one-sixth of the population are Africans, and the same proportion in Petit Juries where the matter relates to any injuries in flicted by a person of African descent, upon a person not of such descent, or *vice versa*; and prejudice against such African race is made a ground of challenge and exclusion from such juries.

"The bill ordered to be printed."

And thus on better and better, until in the first week, Mr. Sumner had thirteen different measures, by bill or resolution in progress, and there were many besides.

In the House of Representatives there was no less of fervor, and mostly all was well directed. Old Nestor Stevens proposed his radical, his truly evangelical measures, and supported them with a speech which not only thrilled his own nation, but was heard with respect and admiration in the halls of the Tuileries and in the palace of St. James. And so late as the eighteenth of December a bill was introduced to the house enacting that in all laws prescribing the qualifications of electors in the District of Columbia the word "white" be, and the same is hereby stricken out; and after the passage of this act no person shall be disqualified from voting on account of color. Objections being made to such a bill being offered, the House suspended the rules for that purpose, and it was made the special order for the 10th of January.

Then Congress adjourned for the holidays. It was hoped and predicted that a visit to their constituencies, and intercourse with the people would add new vigor for the good work so well begun. On Christmas and New Year's, devout men and women thanked God that though the President had failed and become at least a suspected friend, if not downright enemy, Congress was left us, and *Congress would surely stand.*

The twentieth of January brought the national parliament back to the capitol. The ancient Titan in the story, in his terrible encounter, touched the earth and his energies were renewed. Not so our wrestlers in the Congressional arena. After immense labor with false and faltering friends hindering, and open foes opposing, a Freedmen's Bureau bill comes forth and goes up for presidential approval. On the twentieth of February it is returned with veto ignominiously written on its fair face. Thus terminated a second month of congressional labor. For by this time, the demoralization had become too great to enact the measure against the presidential ban. Two days afterwards came that double blasphemy against the holy spirit of freedom and the hallowed memory of Washington, the harangue of the President on the birth day of the Father of his country. Whatever men may say, that Bedlam shriek, that devil's evangel fell on the public ear with stunning power. The head of the fabled Gorgon turned to stone all who dared look upon it. Scarcely less terrible has been the power of the speech of the twenty-second of February. Congress has discovered no resisting power since. To declare there is really no difference between it and the President, is the work of one half of the body. And to try to make that lie a truth, is much of the occupation of the other. And instead of direct enactments in favor of justice and freedom, the whole legislation now almost is on Amendments to the Constitution. What of time can be spared from the coming election in Connecticut, is devoted to Constitutional amendments of which there are some twenty-five or more now pending in one House or the other. And could a majority of either house agree upon one even for discussion, it must still wait the verdict of two-thirds of both in its favor before it could go to the States; and then three-fourths of their Legislatures must ratify or the work is all lost. When all this would be accomplished in the present condition of the public mind and conscience, cannot be foretold. Another generation at least of the forlorn Freedmen would first sink to uncommiserated graves. And yet this is the only present gleam of hope offered by Congress to their despairing souls. Nor really is any one of these many amendments worthy a moment's attention as ground work for reconstruction of the government, or as underpinning for a Republic at all. Probably the least objectionable of them, is that proposed by Mr. Sumner. It provides—

"That, whenever male citizens of the United States over the age of twenty-one years shall be excluded from the elective franchise in any State, except for participation in rebellion, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number thus excluded bears to the whole number of male citizens of the United States over the age of twenty-one years in such State."

It should be remembered that it is not Amendment to the Constitution which is primarily the thing sought; but how to restore a government broken in pieces by treason and rebellion, with the least possible offence to the traitors and rebels. By all the laws of justice and right (as men reason generally) every traitor and rebel deserves death. And by the same divine code, the whole colored people of the rebel States deserve all the good and all the gratitude which Congress and the whole North can bestow upon them.

Nearly all the former voters in the rebel States were traitors, conspirators, armed assassins against the Government. Every black man was instinctively loyal and true. Now what does Mr. Sumner's amendment propose as respects these two classes? With angelic eloquence he has proved that had there been no rebellion, nor any slavery to cause or create a rebellion, both these classes have, by nature and the gift of God, an equal right to suffrage and citizenship; and that justice and republicanism would both be outraged by the exclusion of either from these divine benefactions. And here behold Mr. Sumner ready to compound with these blood-besmeared traitors, these sworn enemies of his Government, of God's government, of every government but that of his Satanic Majesty, that if they will degrade the brave, loyal, faithful black people from enumeration *as human beings*, as well as from citizenship and suffrage, he is willing to so shape (not *amend*) the Constitution as to cover so daring and desperate a villany! To comb and card out the fibre of this amendment in its details, is not needful here. But why should Mr. Sumner, or any mortal man be thus tampering with natural, divinely descended rights? Who made him a broker in God's choicest gifts to immortal beings? Were the slaveholders cherubim and seraphim and the negroes what the slaveholders actually were and are, still such a measure would ring a shuddering discord through all the music of the spheres! But when the deed is to be perpetrated superlatively in the opposite direction and interest, when the innocent are to be the victims, when the just are to suffer both for and by the unjust, when crime and cruelty are to be propitiated and loyalty and virtue punished, what is it but a deed that must remain without a name, till human language takes on new powers commensurate with the frightful growth of human depravity?

We thought our noble Sumner would at least dictate terms to traitors, stern, inflexible as the chains of justice; not make bargains with them. These so-called amendments would be an outrage on true republicanism, did the slaves and slaveholders that were, stand alike innocent before the world and the law. A black code, a color distinction in constitution or statute, is an abomination. No nation on the globe tolerates it but this; not even slaveholding Brazil. And for American Senators to be defacing and deforming the Constitution to meet it, and that solely at the dictation of tyrants and traitors deserving the halter, is a spectacle to which mortal vision is unused, even in a world where total depravity is a cardinal doctrine of faith in the most powerful and populous branches of the organic church; and a doctrine alas, too easily illustrated on every hand!

And men are asking with trembling solicitude, "*Will Congress stand?*" This Congress stand! rather should they find comfort in the strain of John Bunyan,

"He that is down need fear no fall."

Where is the fervor with which the session opened, thrilling all loyal hearts with gladness and hope? Where now are Mr. Sumner's thirteen measures, every one as pure of compromise as the songs before the great white throne? Where the auspicious Reconstruction Committee of fifteen that were to guard the gates of Congress like the celestial sentry with double flaming sword at the portals of paradise? And where Mr. Stevens's oration, so alive with prediction and promise as to electrify the hemispheres? Mr. Sumner's glowing portents have pimpled into a proposed Amendment to the Constitution, which will be to it a new infection, a hectic plague spot, of which history will be ashamed, if it be not omen of convulsion and dissolution. And the Reconstruction Committee at the end of four dismal months is found a mere budget of references, a huge paunch, swallowing down the desires, purposes and hopes of a forbearing but long deluded people. One measure is arrested in one house, a second in the other. A third and a fourth are enacted and smothered by presidential fiat. One *concurrent* Resolution is adopted, but that is only a ratchet, holding the governmental windlass where it is but with no power for further elevation. Meanwhile Senator Doolittle tells the nation the colored population are perishing by the million. An awful fact, if it be so! But the tone and temper of much that we call *the government*, and almost the whole voice of the Southern States, are such as to compel the belief that the truer this tale should prove, the louder would be their anthems of joy.

A SOUTHERN SERMON.

THE Roxbury (Mass.) *Journal* says:

A friend has furnished us with a New Orleans paper containing a report of a sermon delivered on Sunday, the 4th instant, by Rev. C. K. Marshall, D.D., in that city. The preacher gave out as his theme "The Design of Providence in the Events through which the South had just passed," and then launched into one of those "political discourses," of which our Northern Democrats have such a horror—when given by one of the opposite way of thinking. The sermon is a curiosity, and we wish we had space to lay it at length before our readers. A summary of its points must suffice. They were—

"1. That the cause of the South was just.

"2. That slavery, for which they fought, was beneficent.

"3. That the rank and file of the rebel army deserve all praise, and to be held in everlasting remembrance.

"4. That while it pleased Providence to overthrow their peculiar institution, and defeat their army, yet Providence has compensated them by the development of the material resources of the South.

"5. That the Southern people are to maintain a distinct and sectional existence.

"6. That the Irish, and all other nationalities, are invited to the South, but no place should be given to Northern people.

"7. And the people of the South, by the adoption of a new policy, shall yet be the conquerors, and shall see the time when the 'spider will weave her web on the spindles of Lowell, and the owl sit amid its desolations; and when a Camanche of the West shall sit on the summit of Bunker Hill and sketch the ruins of Boston.'"

The speaker fittingly closed with a eulogy on Andrew Johnson. He styled him "the greatest President since Washington, who had developed a character as unexpected and as illustrious as Louis Napoleon himself. Napoleon in Europe," said he, "and Johnson in America—the two greatest men of the age." The rebels who made up his congregation came down with thundering applause at this passage. The "unexpected" character that Johnson has "developed" has endeared him beyond even the suffering martyr at Fortress Monroe."

Such a Doctor of Divinity as this Dr. Marshall, looks very frightful to Northern eyes to-day. But while slavery lasted and he and the like of him were its apologists, its supporters and sanctifiers, there were but few popular pulpits in the North to which they were not welcomed; and those who refused to own them as true ministers of the gospel, to listen to their ministrations, and receive the sacrament at their hands, were rebuked and disowned, as schismatics, heretics or infidels.

ANOTHER VETO.—The Civil Rights bill, as was expected, shared the fate of the Freedmen's Bureau. It is more than ever certain that the President will do nothing in the direction of justice to the colored people of any class. The Dred Scott decision is his determined estimate of all the race. The party that raised him to power have him on their hands, and the blood and tears of millions weigh heavily in their saturated garments. And most mysteriously do they still cling to him; as though God had indeed sent them strong delusion to believe in lies and in him, that they may go down together. To this hour, the party do not, dare not repudiate the President's policy of reconstruction, in Congress, in Connecticut, in the churches, in any place. Where two or three officeholders or officeseekers are met together, it is still as it has been, in the name of Andrew Johnson; as though there were no other name under heaven given among men, whereby they and their party can be saved,

TEXAS.—A cavalry officer now in Texas, writes to a friend concerning the working of the "President's policy," as follows:

"There is one thing, however, that is working against the speedy return of quietness, not only in this State, but throughout the entire South, and that is the reconstruction policy of President Johnson. It is doing more to unsettle this country than people who are not practical observers of its workings have any idea of. Before this policy was made known, the people were prepared to accept anything. They expected to be treated as rebels, their leaders to be punished, and their property confiscated. But the moment it was made known, their assurance returned. Rebels have again become arrogant and exacting. Treason stalks through the land unabashed. What we now want is emigration from the North, but we cannot look for any great amount until the present policy is changed."

And yet, from many advisory letters sent up, it would seem that unless "emigration" were literally "an army with banners," it had better stay at home.

OUR COLUMNS.—They are too short and too few. Every week important matter gets postponed. Interesting accounts from freedmen, especially from some of their schools are shut out to-day. Whatever Congress and the President may do or not do, the noble young women and men (or old, if any are old) who are teaching these schools, are laying the foundations of many generations. God's best benediction be ever with them.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Loyalty loves still to "larrup its niggers." The *Tribune* says: "A recent letter from Wilmington, N. C., states that on the 15th inst., eight colored men and one white were strung up by the thumbs in the most frequented street of that city at noon, stripped and flogged—*till the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau arrived and interrupted this reconstructed amusement.*" Surely the Bureau was not vetoed too soon.

RESOLUTION OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—At a stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held March 8th, 1866, the following resolution was adopted; and the Secretary was directed to send it to the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD for publication:

Resolved, That the recent course of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in vetoing the bill for the enlargement of the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, and his open antagonism to the majority of both Houses of Congress, excite our indignation and alarm, confirm our belief that the spirit of slavery is in active operation in the land, and should warn Abolitionists to be vigilant and faithful at their posts, prepared to meet the demands of the hour.

LUCRETIA MOTT, President.
G. M. S. P. JONES, Secretary.

PERSONAL.

Rev. Calvin Fairbanks desires us to say that he has left the Water Cure (we hope with improved health), and that hereafter he may be addressed at his home in Williamsburg, Mass.

Washington correspondents begin to announce what has long been expected, that Mr. Seward is already in the field as the next Presidential candidate. The nomination is to be accomplished by the united Southern vote, combined with such of the Northern States as can be "roped" into the arrangement. Of course New York is expected to lead off in that direction. The statement of such a plan, they say, is not a mere idle rumor, or based simply upon the indications plainly discernible. At the right time evidence will be produced to show that it has been extensively canvassed in the South, and definite modes of action arrived at.

The Nashua (N. H.) *Gazette*, a leading Democratic journal, says: "The only fault that Garrison appears to find with Payne, the assassin, is, that he didn't succeed. If Garrison had talked about Mr. Lincoln's administration as he has about Mr. Johnson's, he would have had a room provided for him at Fort Warren." This is the paper that at the outset opposed (as indeed the whole Northern press) the annexation of Texas, as "a Southern scheme, conceived in the interest of slavery and the South, *but fraught with consequences to the North as black as ink and as bitter as hell!*" It however soon became a chosen champion of the "scheme," with all its blackness and bitterness, and has never back-slidden since from the faith of "the unterrified."

Several of our devout journalists are shocked almost into paralysis at what they call "Mr. Sumner's "*blasphemy*," in a Scriptural allusion in a recent speech in the Senate. One of them says: "The disgusting blasphemy of Mr. Sumner in likening the typical negro to Him who was God on the Cross, before the Senate of a Christian nation, was but imperfectly rebuked by Mr. Fessenden." Mr. Sumner's "blasphemy" was this: He begged of the Senate "not to copy the example of Pontius Pilate, who surrendered the Saviour of the world, in whom he found no fault at all, to be scourged and crucified, while he set at large Barabbas, of whom the gospel says in simple words, 'Now Barabbas was a robber.'" Mr. Fessenden's "rebuke" ran thus: "Did the House, as charged by Mr. Sumner, place themselves in the situation of Pontius Pilate with the negro for the Saviour of the world, and the people of the United States for Barabbas? Why, sir, I expected him (Mr. Sumner) to go further, and in the next breath to say that what with the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the States, the negro had been crucified between two thieves, and that now by this proposed amendment the stone had been rolled away from the door of the sepulchre, *and he had ascended to sit on the throne of the Almighty and judge the world.*" Which was the most "*disgusting* blasphemy?" But Mr. Fessenden is praised, and Mr. Sumner execrated; another instance of gnat and camel.

The following letter laid before Congress by the President shows why Gen. Saxton was removed from office:

"COLUMBIA, S. C., Dec. 1, 1865.

"*His Excellency President Johnson:*

"Gen. Howard, in pursuance of your instructions, ordered the restoration of the Island lands where the owners consented to make contracts with the freedmen. He appointed a supervising board of contractors. His representative, Capt. Ketchum, decided that a negro should be one of the board. Gen. Howard, while I was in Washington, telegraphed that he meant the board to be composed of whites—one selected by the freedmen. In defiance of this instruction, a negro has been placed upon the board. He has declared that no contracts will be made, that nothing but the ownership of the lands will satisfy the freedmen. Capt. Ketchum has submitted, through him, to the freedmen of Edisto, certain questions. One is, if the freedmen will buy the lands of the former owners, if assisted by the United States? *I earnestly urged upon you, while in Washington, the removal of Gen. Saxton.* Here is the proof of the utter impossibility of doing anything as long as he controls this department of the bureau. I have just received reliable intelligence that Gen. Sickles has been obliged to order a company to Edisto. *I again most earnestly appeal for the immediate removal of Gen. Saxton.*

"WM. HENRY TRESCOTT,
"Executive Agent State of South Carolina.

"We earnestly unite in these presentations and request of Mr. Trescott.

"B. F. PERRY, Provisional Governor.
"JAS. L. ORR, Governor."

VIRGINIA LOYALTY.

MR. JOHNSON'S veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill was timely and wise. Those audacious creatures the Freedmen, absolutely propose to celebrate in Virginia, in Richmond too, under the very noses of the chivalry there, the third of April next as the first anniversary of their independence! *their fourth of July*, for the first time. And here is what the President's loyal Richmond *Examiner* says about it:

"The fact that the negroes of Richmond intend to celebrate the 3d of April as the anniversary of their liberation has already been alluded to by us; but so serious are the apprehensions with which we look forward to a demonstration of this nature, that we are unwilling to drop the subject without a further notice.

"Were it possible for them to celebrate the anniversary of the day upon which the fate of American slavery was sealed, and, we honestly believe, the death warrant of the American negro signed, without an almost absolute certainty of lamentable consequences, we should deem it most appropriate for us to pass this matter by in silence. Our people—the negroes' best and only *friends*, whether in a state of bondage or freedom—would look in pity rather than in anger upon their exhibition of childish joy over the newly acquired and fatal bauble. But such a demonstration is impossible; it cannot but be accompanied with numberless causes of exasperation and strife. Wild with excitement, crazed with liquor, and encouraged in their excesses by them, they will bear through our streets and flaunt in our faces banners whose devices and mottoes will fire the tamest spirit; and the loud expressions of their uncouth joy will not be confined to shouts of rapture over their changed condition, but end in insults to their former masters.

"Our people, we believe, will submit to this celebration, if they must, as they have had to submit to many other things, with the best grace they can; but the slightest collision, the merest squabble between some drunken negro and a thoughtless child—things which no forbearance or prudence on our part can prevent—may, and in all probability will, lead to consequences which, when they are upon us, those who are responsible will vainly deplore.

"Gen. Terry, as commander of this Department, has a solemn weight of responsibility to bear in this matter. He has been long enough in our midst to know the effect upon us of the events of that day; if he has the soul of a soldier and a gentleman, he will understands why the 3d of April will ever be to us an anniversary of blighted hopes, of ruined fortunes, of anguish and desolation. He can appreciate our memories of that awful night when, hopeless at last of the cause for which so many sacrifices had been made, and so much precious blood had been spilled, our people had pecuniary added to political ruin, and saw the fruits of life-long labor swept away in a moment by the ruthless flames and the savage mob. No Roman General, the victor of a civil war, received the honors of a triumph; be the issue what it might, it was to be grieved over, not gloried in. Will this officer of the United States permit a heedless and brutal race to make merry with our desolation and mock at our calamities? Are these subjects for jollification? Are these matters for rejoicing? Are these memories that it is his duty to see revived, and wounds that he has the right to stand by and see opened afresh?

"Gen. Terry has the power to forbid this demonstration, which can be productive of no possible good, and may be the source of infinite evil; and, in the name of the people whose interests are confided to his keeping, we call upon him to do his duty and prevent it. We trust that he will act as the best interests of both classes—Whites and Blacks—demand, and superior to prejudices and unworthy influences, use his authority as wisdom and humanity dictate, remembering that upon his head and his conscience will rest the fearful consequences which may result from an abuse of power."

And here is another Virginia witness. Under date of March 19, a young school teacher gives a chapter of her daily experience thus, in a letter to a friend:

"To-day, as I was quietly returning from school alone, I was saluted with such a volley of oaths that I involuntarily turned my head to see the speaker. A man instantly retreated within a gateway, repeating: 'God damn you and send you to hell, you cursed bitch of a Yankee teacher!' Some colored people, who had evidently heard, said: 'Do you know who that is?' I replied, 'No; but I should be glad to know.' They then mentioned his name. When he saw me speaking with them he renewed his curses. I went on, and meeting the Major (of the Feredmen's Bureau), of course told him. He will see what he can do; but not much I expect. He says he was beset on Friday night by a rowdy mob, who woke him up with the cries 'Wake up and come out, you damned Freedman's Bureau;' some shouting, 'Kill him!' others, 'Tear him to pieces!' All this, however, is perfectly natural. I looked for it, and look for much more. It is the first time in my life I have had the honor of an open curse, and I do feel it an honor in such a cause.

"9:45 *p. m.*—Just in from school. * * * We went on quietly with our work as usual, when at 9 o'clock, a great crash came against the window, and a large rough stone (which is now on the table before me) fell on the floor. It came exactly in line with the spot where I was standing, and I think we have to thank the calico window-blind, in part, for preventing further damage. Something has been thrown nearly every night lately; but this is the first time a window has been broken. I see they want to frighten our scholars away. Do you think we are reconstructed down here? Ask Mr. Beecher to come down and protect us. Perhaps a little of his smooth eloquence might soften those hard 'loyalists.' The colored people want to celebrate the anniversary of the fall of Richmond, because it is their Independence Day. They are told if they celebrate it at all, it shall be with blood. One of the young men says he will celebrate it, if he does it alone. What do you think I should advise him? Of course I hold it to be their right to celebrate their freedom, and I don't like to see them cowed down by the Whites. Yet I don't like to risk bloodshed, though I seriously believe that more blood will have to be spilt before these people will be free."

BRING OUT THE EVIDENCE!

To the Editor of the Standard:

GIVE us Freedmen's Bureaus, Civil Rights Bills, and Constitutional Amendments to repletion; stuff all the pigeon-holes of the hemisphere with parchments and red tape; let legislative debates fill the atmosphere, and "public documents" pave the streets; let Columbia ring from stem to stern with the "battle-cry of Freedom;"—and leave Andrew Johnson at the helm: and all will be in vain.

While we have a "republican form of government" that permits the Executive branch to defy, in entire safety, the explicit will of the nation expressed through the Legislative; and while that Executive branch is in the hands of an individual leagued with the country's and Freedom's enemies: what security is there in enactments the most solemn and laws the most stringent? What avail statutes with a usurper, or oaths with a perjurer? What safeguards are there against a traitor who has broken his plighted faith to two races—remanding one to the rule of felons, and the other into the fangs of the bloodhound—except to hurl him from power?

The safety of the Republic and the honor of outraged humanity alike, demand the immediate removal of Andrew Johnson from an office which he disgraces and a power which he abuses.

That the President is a criminal before the law of God, needs no argument or proof; but to establish his guilt before the law of the land, requires a systematic process of indictment and conviction.

Have Abolitionists bethought themselves of their duty in this matter? Are they content to leave the negro for three years longer at the mercy of him who was to be their Moses, but has become their Pharaoh?

If not, *let a movement be organized at once, to collect and arrange all the evidence attainable*, regarding the many breaches of the spirit and of the letter of the Federal laws, of which Andrew Johnson is guilty; so as to present, in a concise and connected form, such an array of testimony as will either impeach and condemn Andrew Johnson before the tribunal of the people, in Congress assembled, this Spring; or, failing of that, impeach and condemn said Congress before the tribunal of the ballot-box, next Autumn; or, failing even of that, impeach and condemn the American People forever, before the throne of the Most High in Heaven!

March 27, 1866. G. M.

LETTER FROM MARY GREW.

To the Editor of the Standard:

PHILADELPHIA, March 24th, 1866.

MR. EDITOR: God has given this nation another lesson on the folly of compromising principle for fancied gain. After the lessons of the last fifty years, after the terrible experience of the last four years, we might have thought that the most wayward and foolish would need no more such teaching. Yet, a year and a half ago, the wisest and best political party in this country repeated the foolish error, so often committed by political parties, of rejecting as a candidate for a high office, a man whose principles they could safely trust, and nominating in his stead one who would be more acceptable to the border States of the South. The old cry of availability succeeded for the thousandth time, and, to the great regret of the old Abolitionists of the country, Hannibal Hamlin was displaced by Andrew Johnson. To-day, the party is bewailing its deed; but will it learn wisdom by its sore experience? Will political parties ever learn that God does not suspend the moral laws of His universe for their accommodation? In view of their continually repeated efforts to evade or defy those laws, even in the nineteenth century of Christianity, one involuntarily exclaims, "O fools, and blind!"

But though it is commonly said that parties do not grow in grace, individuals within them do learn wisdom by severe experience, and are frequently redeemed out of them, to build even, on a somewhat better foundation, another party; and thus moral progress is accomplished in the political world. Andrew Johnson's treachery to his party and to the Right is already a beneficial lesson to many members of that party; and should he go on in the direction in which he is now walking blindfolded to his own political destruction, he will open many more eyes to the folly and danger of compromising with wrong and injustice; and will awaken, in the loyal heart of the North, a determination to resist his madness. Much as we all regret his treach

15th of August last, appears, wherein he urgently advises the extension of the elective franchise to all negroes possessing taxable property or education. He expresses the conviction that the other States would follow this example, which might be done with "*perfect safety.*" What this latter phrase meant, may be seen in another portion of the letter, where he expresses the hope that, by the adoption of his advice, "the Radicals, who are rabid on the subject of negro suffrage, would be checkmated in their attempt at excluding Southern Senators and Representatives from Congress."

This letter proves: 1. That the alleged fear of a "war of races" is a *false pretence.* 2. That whenever negro suffrage can be used as an instrument against the Radicals and in favor of the rebels, our Executive traitor has no objection to it. 3. That this same traitor, as early as August of last year, was already conspiring with reconstructed rebeldom against the Congress that was to be.

But of what use is all this array of testimony? Congress, no less than the people, remains inactive. Proofs of guilt are, apparently, collected but to mock justice. The weightier the load of transgression, the greater is the triumph of the unpunished transgressor. While the faculty of indignation against wrong sleeps or is dead in the national bosom, crime may laugh at retribution as long as its impunity is profitable to the judges. And yet truth cannot cease to proclaim her indictment, which will at last turn into a withering impeachment of the sense and the virtue of the entire nation itself, which calmly endures such atrocities!

[Here the *Pionier* refers to Thaddeus Stevens' recent ironical defence of the President against the charge of having delivered his 22d of February speech.]

Thus, after Congress has collected all the testimony requisite to stamp the Chief Magistrate of the Republic as a traitor, it does not omit even to expose his utter dereliction to all manhood and decency—so as to subject him to the just contempt of even the lowest among men. *And to what purpose?* To leave him at the head of a republic which he at once betrays and disgraces. A little more of this and the brand of infamous guilt will come to be considered a distinction and an honor. The branded criminal is pilloried, that the crowd may pay their devout respects to him—his individual shame is publicly exposed; but, to become a national shame—by his being left in a post of honor and responsibility—the odiousness of his crimes is brightly illuminated, merely to reflect on the magnanimous "tolerance" of his judges; in fine, a puling, driveling war of words and phrases is levied against a public nuisance that requires the prompt and stern process of legal abatement. It seems almost as if we were experimenting with this rotten "head" of the body politic to see whether it will not drop off of its own accord, as a gangrened member would from the physical body. But it should be borne in mind that, before it thus festers off, it may infect the entire organization with the deadly virus. This is a clear case for *amputation*, and where are the Constitutional surgeons—Stevens and company—tarrying?

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 24, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR: It is some time since the subject involving the use of our street cars by colored people was prominently and agitated discussed. The topic has slept, while the unredressed victims of the cruel prohibition have patiently nursed their grievance, and their heartless persecutors, though daily conscious of their meanness and their guilt, remain obdurate and unrelenting. Prejudice still triumphs over justice. Petty tyranny continues its sway. The sacredness of manhood is yet violated, and there is no peril for the offenders. Power with shameless front is still arrayed against the weak, crushing their rights, and there is not soul enough in Philadelphia to blot out the deep disgrace.

Recently the public have been again reminded of the wrong done to colored people, through the denial of their right to enter our street cars, by a case before court. This was an action brought against one of our railway companies by Martin W. White, a colored citizen of Pennsylvania, who is one among the scores and hundreds that have suffered the outrage of expulsion from the cars. They who have been thus expelled have their particular injury to pain and chafe their feelings, but equally lacerating, equally annoying is the injustice to all whom the disability affects, who have natures too sensitive, many of them, to bear the wounds of indignity, and spirits too proud to suffer the insults they would encounter by attempting to enter the cars, and therefore ignore them altogether. Can any one calculate *their* injury? It is not cases of expulsion that should claim our attention and awaken our sympathy any more than the general fact of the prohibition. The denial that exists is the primary outrage, and all share in the shameful persecution. All are stung by the inhuman treatment, and keenly feel the detriment that impairs their rights, and encroaches upon their liberty.

Other cases precisely similar to that mentioned above, with circumstances differing, perhaps, in degree of aggravation, have been tried before the same tribunal, and I believe the verdict in every instance has been given in favor of the colored man. The legality of the expulsion has never been sustained. But what good has resulted? None whatever. The victim of the inhuman treatment has been awarded damages in each case, and the railway company has simply paid the fine imposed. To that extent, and no further, has the colored man found redress—to that extent, and not beyond, has the company satisfied the requirements of the law. The decisions given in these suits thus become mere matters of record. So far as they operate in relation to the crime which they condemn they are practically worthless. The outrage of proscription and exclusion continues to exist just as though an opposite verdict had been given. It is no step towards effacing the denial of the right complained of. Although the law is declared to be in favor of the colored passenger, he reaps no benefit therefrom, and though proclaimed to be against the companies, they constantly ignore and defy the same. The cruel disability, besides being a perpetual disgrace to the community that tolerates and sanctions it, thus becomes an example of the contempt shown for the decisions of our courts. The boasted regard for law and its binding power, as being ultimate and conclusive in its effect, is thus made subordinate to meanness and injustice. A wretched tyranny outweighs the importance of its vindication, and a wicked prejudice triumphs over the manliness that should declare its supremacy.

The case of Martin W. White was determined differently from the others, so impotent in their results, receiving an opposite verdict. By mutual arrangement it was disposed of so as to enable it to be carried to the Supreme Court of the State. The Judge, the counsel and all concerned were desirous that it might go up to that tribunal in order that there should be a final and decisive settlement of the question involved. There may it receive a conscientious recognition, and be treated in such a manner that justice may not be violated, and the cause of humanity receive no detriment thereby.

This topic naturally suggests another connected with the street cars. Earnest efforts have been made during the past Winter, to have them granted the privilege of running on Sunday. These have encountered a very determined opposition, chiefly on the part of the clergy, who have manifested equal anxiety and resolution, and whose diligent labors have reflected their unwearied zeal. They have found in Forney's *Press* a powerful, vigorous and watchful combatant, showing a devotion parallel to its persistency, whose influence it would be no easy task to counteract. So silent has been the work of those friendly to the measure, that the contest seemed to be solely between the *Press* and the churches.

But my object in alluding to this, is simply to contrast the position of our clergy in this particular, with that which they bear towards that other car question mentioned above. They disclose such a keen sight of the impropriety of Sunday travel, followed by hearty and willing and combined efforts to prevent it, that one is led to marvel why it is they show no anxiety in the other case, bestow no cooperative labor, exhibit no zeal, no concern, no thought. How sad it is to reflect that, before their vision, in their midst, by their side day after day, a wrong and outrage have existed, crying aloud for redress, whilst they have given an unheeding ear, passively closed their eyes, sealed their lips. How strange it is that they should so well know that justice in this respect has been violated, yet refuse to assert her sacredness; that human rights have been repeatedly assailed, yet turn an indifferent ear to the victims' entreaties. They have beheld the overthrow of right, the triumph of wrong, time after time, without a voice to vindicate, or a scorn to condemn. A few rare examples constitute a noble exception; but as a body will they forever withhold their aid, and suffer sacred laws to be imperiled and defied? Would this crime, this outrage, this disgrace continue forever, and they forever continue their disregard? Can they venture no rebuke, offer no contention, bestow no condemnation? What an aid they might constitute! What a force they might present—what an influence exert! Hitherto they have done nothing, practically nothing. Why? Who can tell why? O.

PEACE CONVENTION IN BOSTON.

THE Convention held in Boston the 14th and 15th inst., was temporarily organized by the choice of L. K. Joslin of Providence, R. I., as President, and Dr. A. B. Child, and Lysander S. Richards of Boston, as Secretaries.

Mr. Thos. Haskell of Gloucester gave his experience in the Peace cause. Had refused to perform military duty fifty years ago. Thought he was the oldest in the cause. Was anxious to be present to give in his dying testimony in favor of moral power as against deadly force. Mr. Ballou read sixteen resolutions which held that all classes were subject to a supreme, divine and moral law, and should trust in God. The resolutions were against the selfish spirit that actuated men to hostility.

The following were elected permanent officers:—President: Adin Ballou of Hopedale, Mass.; Vice-Presidents: E. H. Heywood of Princeton, Mass., Margaret S. Bennet of Gloucester, Mass., Dr. A. B. Child of Boston and E. D. Draper of Hopedale; Secretaries: Lysander S. Richards of Boston and Alfred H. Love of Philadelphia; Business Committee: Wm. S. Heywood of Scituate, Henry C. Wright of Boston, E. H. Heywood of Princeton, L. K. Joslin of Providence, R. I., E. D. Draper of Hopedale, A. H. Love of Philadelphia.

Adin Ballou took the chair, briefly addressed the Convention and offered prayer. Henry C. Wright offered a series of resolutions asserting that what was wrong to do without a license from Civil Governments was wrong to do with one. And all laws that required allegiance to man and force should remain null and void. Governments could exist without force, or else they should not exist at all.

E. H. Heywood also offered a series of resolutions to the effect that the recent war was wrong in principle and mistaken in policy, and that better results could have been attained by other means. The negro should be enfranchised, and the right of peaceable and honorable secession from a community or from the nation should be established.

B. J. Butts of Hopedale offered resolutions deprecating war, its usages and results, and that the law of self-preservation was merely animal, and the only moral law was self-abnegation, and in favor of unqualified peace.

The different resolutions were referred to the Business Committee.

Dr. A. B. Child addressed the Convention, stating that all national and civil warfare rests on human law, all human law rests on the righteousness of selfishness. Let this righteousness of selfishness cease and there will be no law—there will be no war.

L. K. Joslin of Providence made a few brief remarks, taking a stand against the American Peace Society, and in favor of organizing a movement against all resorts to deadly force.

E. H. Heywood spoke against organizations. Does not see the necessity of a constitution. Wants freedom and does not wish to bind himself to any creed.

Wm. S. Heywood of Scituate spoke in favor of an organization as to means and ends, providing there was sufficient unity. If not, he thought it best to wait a while.

Mrs. M. E. B. Albertson spoke against constitutions. Love was the highest principle to act upon.

H. C. Wright addressed the Convention. Man has no right to take human life under any circumstances. Die rather than kill is the watchword of our movement. Government is the great obstacle to its adoption. It is assumed that a government cannot exist except on the principle that man may kill men at discretion, all governments assume power to create and annul moral obligations and to use deadly force in carrying out its purposes. Governments based upon such assumed principles, must lead to the desecration and degradation of human beings. The only rightful government is one in which God is the only sovereign, the only judge, and the only executive.

A. H. Love referred to several instances where many Quakers had been true to their principles during the war. Some had been drafted in the rebel service. In one instance a conscript, for refusing to bear arms was ordered to be shot. The men were commanded to stand off twenty paces, and the conscript, turning his eyes heavenward, said, calmly, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." At the command "fire!" every musket dropped. "We cannot" they cried, "shoot that man." The officer's barbarity not allowing him to rest here, he secured a spirited horse, and after securing the conscript to the ground, his orders were to drive the horse upon him, but the instincts of the animal being too high for his master's barbarism, he refused to tread on the form below, and the conscript was finally released. Mr. Love spoke of his own record during the war, and proved beyond a doubt the practicability of his principles, from having passed through some of the most severe tests of the war.

John Toohey said that combativeness takes many forms of expression. He is in favor of trusting God and providence. It was no accident that we had war. To whatever extent men may condemn the consequences of war, it is like many other things we condemn, that we cannot help.

Adin Ballou spoke on his resolutions. We are bound by one moral and divine law, and that law is to love God, and love thy neighbor as thyself. If a man has a cancer, he must fight it, the cancer is not a part of the man, and if you love the fellow, you will fight it out of him. He is for fighting and cutting off everything in the man that is detrimental to himself. He would not kill the slaveholders to get rid of slavery, because you do not get rid of it thereby. He would not burn a barn to get rid of the rats. He is an aggressive man, but does not hate. Would not inflict a punishment on any one that he would not suffer himself.

The Committee on organization reported it inexpedient to organize a society at present, further than the appointment of a Treasurer and a Business Committee of an indefinite number, to have charge of the publication in pamphlet form of the proceedings of this Convention, to arrange for the next meeting thereof in Providence, R. I., the 16th of May, 1866, and transact such other business as may devolve upon it.

The report was accepted.

The Business Committee were chosen, embracing many prominent Peace friends in the country, and J. P. Blanchard of Boston was chosen to fill the office of Treasurer.

The resolutions of Adin Ballou and H. C. Wright were reported by the Business Committee and adopted by the Convention.

E. H. Heywood spoke against the system of having a Business Committee, especially on resolutions. Believes in diversity of opinion and allowing the presentation of all resolutions to the Convention direct.

Josiah Warren addressed the meeting. Where the responsibility is, there rests the deciding power. He feels pleased that the cause of peace is left in such wise hands as in the leaders of this Convention.

Rev. Dr. Beckwith, Secretary of the American Peace Society, addressed the meeting on the aims and purposes of that society, which is simply the abolition of war; the sole aim is to do away with the custom of settling disputes between nations by war. The late rebellion, the society considers, was an internal affair, not a war, and with which they have nothing to do. War between nations comes within their province alone. It recognizes the right of society to exist, believes in civil government and in the right to enact laws and put them in force. He does not believe in the inviolability of human life.

H. C. Wright replied, speaking against the practice of civil governments and believed in governing self before attempting to govern others. He had all he could do to govern Henry C. Wright and thought Dr. Beckwith would find it the same with himself.

Samuel May, Jr., wanted to correct a statement concerning the Anti-Slavery Society. That Society never identified itself with non-resistant principles.

The Business Committee reported that a sub-committee of three be appointed to publish in pamphlet form the Proceedings of the Convention.

All communications must be addressed to the Secretary, Lysander S. Richards, Boston.

The Convention adjourned to meet in Providence, R. I., on the 16th of May.

[The series of resolutions sent us was lost in the absence of the editor from his post from severe illness.]

"UNCLE MOSES."

A STORY OF ARLINGTON.

It is not easy to render in words the features of a landscape vividly enough to interest the reader so much, that he will not skip the description.

I essay the sketch of "*Uncle Moses*" with the conviction of the far greater difficulty of describing anything so complex as even the simplest, most transparent human character. His image is clear to my view. A stiff, bent, prematurely old, slavery-scarred figure, crowned by two hats, because one is not warm enough, a bright eye, which sometimes emits a twinkle of shrewdness and humor, but generally having a look of patient sadness, long endurance and hope deferred; a firm mouth and perfect teeth, with speech slow and cautious, like his temperament, too much so, to the old man's sorrow, for his full enjoyment of the devotional ecstacies, which lift this people for the time out of their burdens, into a rest which makes it possible for them to resume and endure the load. His look was so patient I thought he must have accepted the hard conditions of his life meekly, thinking it his duty to be resigned. One day I said this to him, he kindled at once, replied that he had attempted three times to get his freedom before the final success.

Once he tried to get North, in one of the vessels engaged in the lumber trade on the Chesapeake; when about to embark he was so filled with distrust of the captain that he abandoned his plan, and afterward learned that he would have been betrayed.

He lived in Middlesex County, Va., and from cutting lumber for the Northern trade had gained some idea of the "Yankees."

At his third trial he fled to a swamp and lived there eleven months. In this dismal retreat he was once hunted by dogs and armed men, but that time escaped to be afterward shot and captured by his master's son. He nearly died from his wound, but as soon as partially recovered, though disabled for life, he was sent to Richmond to be sold, proving to be so badly damaged as to be unsaleable, he was returned to his captors.

He has lived so near the light that his rough path has all along been illumined by visions. Twenty-five years ago he saw the war that would bring freedom and told his friends; they laughed incredulously, so he kept his own counsel afterwards. He was a true friend, ever ready in emergencies, either to contribute some "light wood" to start the smoky fire, or to adjust the stovepipe which had to be made a weather vane. Sometimes after his day's work he would cut the wood at my door until far into the evening, then pile it in my cabin to save it from covetous hands. Or when he thought me careless about fastening the door during absence, he came and put a fastening on it, saying, "everything in the house will be done stole. You doesn't know dese people." I can say for the credit of "dese people" that these predictions did not prove true.

He had a great desire to learn to read the Bible. To this end he had lessons every evening; sometimes he said, "my remembrance is so poor, I knows de letters by der looks, but I can't think of der names." At last accounts from him, he was plodding through the New Testament. A labor for him fully as great as for me to attempt reading it in the original Greek. He has a son of tender age, whose filial feeling has led him to give the name of Cuffee, because "dat was his father's name."

To prevent the unconscious child perpetuating a name given in contempt of his race, a package was sent bearing the name of the President of blessed memory, whom Uncle Moses revered above all other men. On receiving it he said he must put dat name in somewhere, "but they called the child Cuffee."

Abraham Lincoln Cuffee Washington (this is the family name) strikes the ear ludicrously. Does not second thought give it a significant interest? Three representative names in our history, the father of his country, the liberator and the despised African borne by one of the latter.

Even so is the national safety united with the safety of the colored race. E. H.

CONGRESS.

A PART of the Senate have gone over into Connecticut to look after a pending State election there, and the remainder are entertaining themselves and the rest of mankind on an election case of their own, that of a Senator from New Jersey. It consumed a good deal of valuable time last week, and, as was supposed, got itself settled. But on Monday it came up again, and the following special dispatch to the New York *Times* shows to what purpose:

As anticipated in our dispatch of last night, a proceeding was commenced in the Senate to-day with the view of striking the vote of Mr. Stockton from the journal, and determining whether or not a Senator has the right to vote in a matter in which he is interested, or where that act is to decide that he is or is not entitled to his seat in the Senate. The galleries were crowded at an early hour, and during the afternoon a large number of members of the House were upon the floor, many of the spectators, however, being attracted to the Senate by the belief that the anticipated veto message from the President would be delivered this afternoon. Immediately after the reading of the journal of last Friday, Mr. Sumner got the floor and made a motion that the record of that day be corrected by striking out the vote of Mr. Stockton on the report of the Committee declaring him entitled to a seat as Senator. Upon this motion Mr. Sumner took the floor and began a discussion which proved to be unusually desultory and lasting throughout the entire session of nearly five hours' duration. There was almost entire accord upon the question as to the right or duty of a Senator in the matter of voting upon questions in which he is directly interested. Generally, it was conceded that Mr. Stockton, upon legal grounds, had no right to vote in his own case. Universally, it was admitted that upon the simple question of delicacy his vote was unwarranted, Mr. Stockton himself coinciding in this view. And by this Senator, and a few other Senators on the Democratic side, it was argued that he had exercised nothing more than clear legal right in voting for himself on Friday last. The arguments had the effect of bringing from Mr. Stockton a proposition to withdraw his vote, and Messrs. Sherman and Trumbull urged the Senate to take the Senator at his word, and permit the vote to be withdrawn. Others thought this would not aid in clearing up the affair as was desired, and a motion to reconsider the vote of Friday was deemed the best mode of getting the matter in the shape to cure the defects and correct the errors in the proceedings. The Senate therefore agreed very generally to reconsider, and this left the matter just where it started on Thursday last, when the report of the Committee was taken up. Several motions were made, among them one to postpone the further consideration of the report until Thursday, with instruction to the Judiciary Committee to report as to the right of a Senator to vote in his own case. These motions were lost, and the question again recurring upon the adoption of the resolution declaring Mr. Stockton entitled to his seat, his opponents urged an immediate vote. Here arose quite a commotion, Mr. Sumner and others on his side passing rapidly from one member to another and urging them to stand firm, for now was the time, if ever, to oust the Senator from New Jersey, there being a clear majority of two votes against him, as the Senate then stood. For a few moments it seemed that the fate of Mr. Stockton in this contest was sealed; and had the vote been then taken, as urged by Messrs. Nye and Sumner, the New Jersey Senator would have received his walking papers; but the counsel of Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Sherman and others of the more temperate prevailed.

It was not expected by Senators now absent that this question would come up, and it was deemed unfair to press it in their absence; and so upon a motion by Mr. Trumbull, the Senate adjourned, leaving the Stockton case still suspended in glorious uncertainty to most minds.

It certainly is a singular question to be raised at almost the end of the fourth month of the session. Had the Senate adjourned on the fourth of March as last year, it would not have been determined, or hardly debated at all. The country still waits patiently on a body that has had opportunities and responsibilities almost unequalled before in the whole history of human legislation; but has for four months acted only on a McClellan, Chikakominy policy. Defeat in good, honest, earnest battle, is not so dangerous or disgraceful as such delays.

In the Senate on Tuesday, the case of Senator Stockton was reviewed and reversed 20 to 22. Settled now forever, let us hope. New Jersey must try again. The other business in the Senate of most interest, was nineteen petitions presented by Mr. Sumner from citizens of Louisiana, asking for a provisional government in that State, and the enforcement of equality, civil and political, without distinction on account of color. These were referred to the Committee on Reconstruction.

Mr. Harris of New York, presented a petition, signed by a large number of women, asking for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting any State from disfranchising its citizens on account of sex.

Mr. Foster (in the chair)—What disposition does the Senator wish to be made of this petition.

Mr. Harris—Let it be on the table.

The Chair—It will be so ordered.

Mr. Sumner, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported a bill to authorize the President of the United States to transfer a gunboat to the government of the republic of Liberia, which was ordered to be printed.

The message of the President, vetoing the Civil Rights bill, consumed, in the reading, the last hour of the Session. It will appear in its appropriate column in the next STANDARD.

GERRIT SMITH TO SENATOR WILSON.

IN a late speech in the Senate, Hon. Henry Wilson alluded to Mr. Smith in a way to call forth an able reply, an important portion of which we crowd into our columns, as follows;

PETERBORO, March 20, 1866.

Hon. HENRY WILSON, *U. S. Senate.*

MY DEAR SIR: I see that, in the course of a debate in the Senate of the United States a few days ago, you charge me with having been opposed to the Anti-Slavery Amendment, which is now declared to be a part of the Constitution. I confess that I was opposed to it—to both the time and wording of it. * * *

You were offended because I had written against the Representation Amendment. You should not have been. You had more reason to regret that my writing was not convincing enough to restrain you from voting for it. I do not call in question the intended effect of your vote. That you and many who voted with you intended to serve thereby the cause of equal rights, is not to be denied. But what was the practical tendency of your vote can be seen in the light of what would be the practical effect of such an Amendment to the Constitution. And in that light may I not retaliate and ask: "*Where, in God's name, will the slaves of the country be, if the counsels of Henry Wilson are followed?*"

1st. The Amendment would be a bad blot upon the Constitution, and therein a deep disgrace to the nation. For the Constitution would then imply that there might be "in any State," and without thereby violating the Constitution, caste arrangements; nay, that there might be in it races of men proscribed on account of their natural and therefore irresponsible peculiarities—proscribed for no crime, no, nor for the slightest fault, of their own—proscribed, indeed, in spite of their rare intelligence and of their adornment with the highest virtues.

2d. The Amendment, because resulting in the continued disfranchisement of the freedmen, would also result in their substantial re-enslavement. You will, however, tell me that the Southern States will hasten to enfranchise their freedmen in order to save from diminution their representation in the national councils. But a secession spirit—a desire to insulate herself—is infintely more prevalent at the South than a national interest. Gladly would she surrender all her interest in the nation and all her representation in its councils for the sake of regaining, as by exclusive white suffrage she would, the control of her freedmen. She would be as quick to choose the latter and to submit to the penalty of giving up the former, as a drunkard is to choose the rum instead of the water. But, I hold, that if she covets an effective influence in the nation, the very way for her to make sure of it is to deny suffrage to the negro—for in that way she secures, as without it she could not, the alliance of the negro-hating Democratic party. In short, an Amendment for the very purpose of again putting both the North and the South into the hands of the slave-masters would not need to differ from this one in a single word.

But do I mean to say that a people in the enjoyment of their civil rights can, even if they are denied access to the ballot-box, be fairly said to be enslaved? I do not. What I mean to say is that, whenever in a Republic a despised and hated race is robbed of the right of suffrage, it will, whatever the professions, promises and guards to the contrary, if of sufficient numbers to arouse jealousy and inspire fear, be robbed of its civil rights also, and be therefore an enslaved race. But will not the "Civil Rights Bill," if it becomes a law, save to the black man of the South their civil rights. A very little time would show that it would not. All their civil rights, including rights of property and rights in the courts, if unaccompanied and unsustained by suffrage, would be but as cobwebs before the hostile suffrage. The voting race could and would at every point tie, hand and foot, the non-voting race. Its preeminent aim in casting the ballot, would be to sweep away every right from the non-voting race. It would have the power as well as the disposition to evade or overcome every provision in the "Civil Rights Bill." It would make the intervention of the Federal Courts provided for in that Bill not only unpopular and perilous, but impossible. I say *impossible*—for the nation would not consent to support a standing army large enough to make it possible. Rely upon that Bill or upon any thing short of impartial suffrage for Peace and Justice at the South, and there will be no Peace and Justice there. The schools for the oppressed race will be quickly broken up; its every right will be quickly assailed; and there will be no resource left to it but the mighty resource of despair. Woe, woe to the oppressors when the oppressed are driven to this the last of all resources! Of what avail would be the Bill under a Democratic Administration? And, surely the cowardice, haltings and derelictions of many of the Republican leaders make the speedy incoming of such an Administration but too probable. Under such an Administration the Slave Power would be left to do as it pleased in the South, if not indeed, in the North also. And he, who flatters himself that these Republican leaders would not, for the sake of Southern favor and Southern votes, consent to see the provisions of the Bill unenforced, has far more confidence in their incorruptibility than he ought to have.

Can you believe that the "Civil Rights Bill" will suffice to protect the negro and the white loyalist of the South? Strange if you can! You well know that no laws sufficed to protect from being sold into slavery your Massachusetts black seamen, who, in their lawful pursuits, were so unfortunate as to touch Southern soil. You well know, too, that Massachusetts sent her eminent citizens, Mr. Hoar and Mr. Hubbard, to the South to look after the rights of these outraged seamen; and that, notwithstanding the abundant and even organic law on the side of those Commissioners, they had to fly back to the North to save themselves from being murdered. Do you say that the rebellion has improved the temper of the South? It has made that temper much worse. Never before was her hatred of the negro and the white loyalist so intense. Do you believe that she has repented? She has not. And, what is more, our impenitence leaves little hope that she will give up hers. Had the North, when the South laid down her arms, stood up for Justice to the negro, she would have honored both herself and Justice in the eyes of the South. But she preferred to begin the new national existence in the spirit of Injustice to the negro; and, as a necessary consequence, she has gained no hold upon the Southern conscience, and is powerless to move the Southern heart to penitence. If that heart repent, it will be notwithstanding the hardening influences upon it of an unjust policy and base example on the part of the North.

The "Civil Rights Bill," like much other legislation in our country and in the world, proceeds upon the false principle that Government is to be the main dependence for the protection of its subjects. But the true principle is that in the main they are to be left to be their own protectors. Now, in a Republic, the great means of self-protection is the ballot. Hence, when our Government robs one of our races of the ballot or suffers the robbery, all in vain will it attempt to make up for the robbery by promising protection to the victims. The "Civil Rights Bill" cannot serve the black man in the place of the ballot. But the ballot in his hands would make the Bill quite superfluous.

I spoke of *impartial* suffrage. I did not mean by it *universal* suffrage. Whilst I fully believe that suffrage is a natural right, I am nevertheless ready to admit that slavery so far unnaturalizes the slave race and the slaveholding race, as, in no small degree, to impair the fitness of both for casting the ballot. Hence, I should be content to see a degree of book education, say reading, made a prerequisite for voting in the rebel States. Proof of loyalty in the voter should be insisted on. Though I cheerfully admit that a very generous interpretation of its evidences could be well afforded, were the blacks admitted to the ballot-box.

I need say no more. Indeed, for a long time, I have had very little courage to say any thing for the salvation of my pre-eminently guilty and pre-eminently infatuated country. Though she has suffered so much for it, she still refuses to repent of her oppression of the poor. Why, then, should my hope be strong that she will be saved? I hardly expect anything better than that she will go on in her wickedness, and crown it with the superlative folly of denying the ballot to the loyal and according it to the disloyal, and with the superlative ingratitude of taking up her black saviours and casting them again under the feet of their and her enemies. Can she survive all this under the reign of a God of Justice? I do not believe that she can. I add that her survival of it would supply the atheist with a new argument. With great regard, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.—The valuable favors of Messrs. Leonard Scott & Co. came a little unseasonably; but we are happy to acknowledge now the receipt of the *Edinburgh*, *Westminster*, and *London Quarterlies*, and *Blackwood's Magazine* for February. It is lamented in some of the journals that American literature has been declining during the years of the war. If it be so, the foreign importation here announced is doubly valuable; for nobody fears at present that these works will not sustain their well-earned reputation.

Littell's Living Age comes promptly, and with its usual good digestion. Ticknor & Fields have gladdened us again with *Our Young Folks*; and *Every Saturday*, is regular as the day itself. Our judgment of such matters may not be worth much, but it seems to us that could we forty years ago have had the reading of *Our Young Folks*, it would have been better than all the works of its kind then extant, or any which exist today. The *Atlantic* for April does not yet greet us. The *Phrenological Journal*, and *Demorest* are, as usual, ablaze with illustrations, some of them (in the latter especially) quite elegant, besides containing much entertaining and useful reading matter.

THE ELEVENTH
NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

THE Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, on Thursday, the 10th of May, at 10 o'clock.

Addresses will be delivered by persons to be hereafter announced.

Those who tell us the republican idea is a failure, do not see the deep gulf between our broad theory and partial legislation; do not see that our Government for the last century has been but the repetition of the old experiments of class and caste. Hence, the failure is not in the principle but in the lack of virtue on our part to apply it.

The question now is, have we the wisdom and conscience, from the present upheavings of our political system, to reconstruct a government on the one enduring basis that has never yet been tried—EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL."

From the proposed class legislation in Congress, it is evident we have not yet learned wisdom from the experience of the past; for while our representatives at Washington are discussing the right of suffrage for the black man, as the only protection to life, liberty and happiness, they deny that "necessity of citizenship" to woman, by proposing to introduce the word "male" into the Federal Constitution. In securing suffrage but to another shade of *manhood*, while we disfranchise fifteen million tax-payers, we come not one line nearer the republican idea. Can a ballot in the hand of woman, and dignity on her brow, more unsex her than do a sceptre and a crown? Shall an American Congress pay less honor to the daughter of a President than a British Parliament to the daughter of a King? Should not our petitions command as respectful a hearing in a republican Senate, as a speech of Victoria in the House of Lords? Do we not claim that here all men and women are nobles,—all heirs apparent to the throne? The fact that this backward legislation has roused so little thought or protest from the women of the country, but proves what some of our ablest thinkers have already declared, that the greatest barrier to a government of equality, is found in the aristocracy of its women. For while woman holds an ideal position above man and the work of life, poorly imitating the pomp, heraldry and distinctions of an effete European civilization, we as a nation can never realize the divine idea of equality that man in his highest moments has enunciated to the world. To build a true republic, the church and the home must undergo the same upheaving we now see in the State;—for while our egotism, selfishness, luxury and ease are baptized in the name of him whose life was sacrifice,—while at the family altar we are taught to worship wealth, power and position, rather than humanity, it is vain to talk of a republican government:—The fair fruits of liberty, equality and fraternity must be blighted in the bud, till cherished in the heart of woman.

At this hour the nation needs the highest thought and inspiration of a true womanhood infused into every vein and artery of its life;—and woman needs a broader, deeper education, such as a pure religion and lofty patriotism alone can give. From the baptism of this second revolution, should not woman come forth with new strength and dignity, clothed in all those "rights, privileges and immunities" that shall best enable her to fulfil her highest duties to Humanity, her Country, her Family and Herself.

In behalf of the National Woman's Right's Central Committee. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Pres.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Sec.

New York (48 Beekman st.,) March 31. 1866.

(Editors please copy.)

A Stated Meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 737 Filbert street, on Fifth day, the 12th of April, at 4 o'clock. G. M. S. P. JONES.

Special Notices.

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Miscellaneous Department.

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON ON SHAKSPEARE.

Who says that Shakspeare did not know his lot,
But deem'd that in Time's manifold decay
His memory should die and pass away,
And that within the shrine of human thought
To him no altar should be reared? O hush!
O veil thyself awhile in solemn awe!
Nor dream that all man's mighty spirit-law
Thou knowest; how all the hidden fountains gush
Of the soul's silent prophesying power.
For as deep Love, 'mid all its wayward pain,
Cannot believe but it is loved again,
Even so, strong Genius, with its ample dower
Of a world-grasping love, from that deep feeling
Wins of its own wide sway the clear revealing.

THE SPRING FASHIONS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

FRANCE, the gay and beautiful, already catches glints of soft, May sunshine, and sends us prophecies of lovely days to come, in fabrics which seem woven of river mists or the dewy cobwebs on the grass, and dyed with tints that are ravished from her flowers and radiant skies. Here, as yet, we do not feel the bland and irresistible enchantment of the Spring. There is no tender warmth in our clear heavens, and the winds that buffet us blow straight from glittering icebergs. Clouds of our kindred dust swirl along Broadway and make unpleasant overtures of affiliation. Thus discourteously entreated, the most liberal theology inclines to dismal views of the world's regeneration, and the most alert gentility finds the milliner's model hollow, and despairingly wears its old bonnet, too depressed to care for new. And Lenten entertainment, indeed, shall be meted to those players of the fantastic Masque of Life who come in doublets of the newest fashion to this melancholy court.

Nevertheless, if one listens to the diapason of the winds at high noon, when the sun is shining, one hears sweet, flute-like murmurs of that vernal Opera of Nature, new every Springtide, whose choruses are songs of birds, and low of cattle, whose appointments are so lavish and so perfect, and whose artists never disappoint.

And as with whatever change of season, scene or circumstance, in the busy round of life, comes the impelling necessity of new feminine attire, learn in due time, dear ladies, what pretty things invite you to wear them, and make your wise selection while the evil days of haste, and fatigue, and moving draw not nigh, when you shall say you have no pleasure in them.

FABRICS.

The prints, percales, and muslins have never been as beautiful as this season. Here are yellows as pale as the tassels of the Indian corn, or bright and brave as the dandelion. Lavenders, and violets, and soft, cool grays, and pinks like early June roses are everywhere. A purple flower tossed down on one—a curling feather of brake caught on another—here a little spray of mignonette so perfect that it seems to make the counter fragrant—and there a fringe of mosses or a spray of seaweed. There are diaphanous muslins so fine, so delicate-hued, that they are symbols rather than substances, and in this blue, a blonde might be the incarnate sky, or in that misty white with its arbutus vine, the Spring, herself. There are stripes, of course, because stripes will be the prevailing mode, and these are the least pretty of all. For, lovely as the varied colors are, their fixity and patchiness destroy all grace in the costume, and give that Zebra effect which is objectionable.

PRICES.

Better, perhaps, than these good tidings of the loveliness of the Spring apparel, will be the assurance that all these inviting fabrics are cheaper than they were last year. Very dear still, no doubt; and possibly the wise virgins will refrain from them altogether, and take French lessons instead of Monsieur Favarger, finding in the intimacy of Corneille, and Beranger, and About, and Hugo, and Tocqueville, and Balzac, and George Sand, a more permanent enjoyment than the prettiest Organdy can afford. But the foolish maidens who care for the things of this world and very properly wish to look as pretty as they can, are here informed that the French prints and percales may be bought for 60 cents, the very best quality commanding 75 cents. Muslins, which are pretty, but coarse and not very durable, are 50 cents a yard, and the finest are $1. Bareges, always unserviceable and always warm, though they look so airy, cost nearly as much; and grenadines, the prettiest of all thin goods, are from $1 to $1 75. These robes, however, are really economical, because dampness does not ruin them, and they are strong and durable. The designs are gorgeous, and often bizarre. An oval lozenge of vivid flame-color, a flower of crimson, an endless coil of fine golden cord, a tangle of brilliant leaves, great blocks of colors in satin, burn on the dusky, silken groundwork.

For young ladies, however, the pretty muslins, prints and percales are the only wear. Youth and beauty should not hide themselves behind a dowager's defenses of costliness and glitter, and it is serious folly as well as a crime against good taste to make one's self subservient to one's toilet.

REFORM LEAGUES.

In Paris, it is whispered that leagues are formed in the name of Sainte Mousseline to promote a universal and tasteful simplicity of costume. Monsieur Dupin's whip of scorpions has lashed some uneasy consciences into action. We have not that child-like confidence in feminine covenants of abstinence which once possessed us. For we remember the great meeting called at Cooper Institute, to which women were entreated to come, and lay their love of dress, a costly sacrifice, on the altar of patriotism. The long line of showy equipages invaded the neighboring streets. Fair dames in stiff brocades and priceless laces swept down the dim staircases and, with hands that flashed with jewels, voted to buy no foreign articles *with which they felt they could dispense.* Then the shopmen enlarged their phylacteries, and greatly magnified their office, and sold French fabrics as never before.

Any dress reform, dear damsels, must come from the rich, and from the tasteful, and from the young. For poor women, and dowdy women, and fading women will not broaden the line which they bitterly feel to be dividing them from their more fortunate neighbors. In this country, where we have no assumed upper classes, a costly wardrobe is the only superficial and external token of position, and a priceless silk, or a superb shawl is to many women what an old name, or a coat of arms on the carriage panel, is to an English dame. How absurd and valueless such a criterion of social standing must be the experience of every day declares. Loitering yesterday at a fashionable jeweller's, a gorgeous lady entered to give orders for a silver breakfast service. In a speech of one minute in length, she made six deadly assaults on the President's English, and closed the conversation by a request that the "*teter-tete*" set might be sent to her carriage, which splendid equipage waited at the door. Her robe was shining silk; the flounce on her cloak was real lace and priceless, and the clustered diamonds of her brooch tremulously flashed hints of untold revenue in the purse that bought them. It is probable that the glittering lady had kept the decalogue from her youth up, and loved her neighbor as herself. But one could not help a dreadful suspicion that she ate with her knife and audibly sipped her soup, and a censorious world might hint that a little less grandeur, and a little more grammar would be a fitter entrance fee at the portals of really good society.

EXTRAVAGANCE OF COSTUME.

Before the war, the possession of a camels' hair shawl was something which the richest women achieved late in a lifetime, and then felt that they had touched the acme of existence. Now, you shall count hundreds between Grace Church and Canal street, on any sunny afternoon. Fat, and dowdy, and ill-conditioned women assume them till only their inherent and wonderful beauty redeems them from the ban of unpleasant association. We do not mean that there exists between these perfect cashmeres and the wife of a pawnbroker any necessary incongruity. And we would utterly protest against any mode of dress which could look like a badge of station or class.

But the ditcher's frayed hat on the king's head is not more out of place than the king's crown on the low-browed ditcher. And when vulgar women wear garments so noticeable for costliness, or elegance, or gorgeousness as to *compel* attention, they but advertise their vulgarity. Since it is hopeless to appeal to them, we pray you, fair Aurora, lovely as your celestial namesake—and you, stately Valeria, whom, when you walk, pensive, by the melancholy ocean in the soft Summer nights, the tides mistake for Luna, and follow—and you, exquisite Viola, whose grace would mold armor into soft curves, were you compelled to wear it, and whose beauty could not be quenched by a black domino and mask—you, who have sense, and sentiment, and insight—begin to make dress a fine art, and not a vanity, and so shall all thoughtful souls bless you! We cannot afford to become a nation of tailors' and milliners' models. Whether you go to Saratoga, and Newport, and Long Branch, there to find New York again, and live the same empty, and whirling, and restless round of days that consumes you here, and ask yourselves nightly, as you lay down on your beds to watch the peaceful stars, whether anything in life is worth the price you pay for it, or flitting to some sweet and quiet nook, among the immovable mountains, or within hearing of the deep and tender sea, and the jar and fret of existence are far away, and in a new world you grow childlike and simple—at least go clad in simplicity, and do not offend the homeliness of Nature with the artifices of the town.

THE DEMI-MONDE.

It is a sad truth, and one to be heeded, that the women who to-day ordain the prevailing mode in Paris, are not the women whom it is sweet or wise to imitate. To them we owe the bizarre and senseless display of the last few months; the taste for rococo and ugly ornaments; the use of tinsel, cameos and bullion; the tendency to extravagant and foolish outlay. It is women who can attract and keep the attention of men only through continual surprises of daring toilettes—women without the sweetest womanliness and grace of culture—graduates of a school by no means pure—who study dress as a bad means to a worse end—who are devising the pronounced styles, and *outré* shapes at which our belles to-day demur, though certain to-morrow to accept them.

So absolute is this sway that reputable wives and mothers have asked admission to the gaudy salons of Mademoiselle Hypolita and Mademoiselle Ninette, that they may understand the potent charms with which these dancing sirens hold the callow hearts of Edouard and Etienne, or the worn-out hearts of Monsieur le Marquis and their Excellencies, the nabobs.

In these days, when hotels and steamboats display such miracles of upholstery and decoration as private fortunes cannot compass; when those accessories of wealth whose only value is the ease and culture they bring, are flauted by vulgar people as an offensive ostentation; when elaborate and costly dress is the armor and the badge of a class of women who are mercenary, vain, frivolous and unwomanly, do these possessions seem to you, dear Aurora, things eagerly to be desired? Think, lovely lady, whether the Great Republic may not deserve to hear that her sons are more enslaved to money-getting, her daughters to money-spending, than any nation's. Reflect whether a man may toil for gold, year after year, and not lose something of his manliness; whether a woman may give her time, and thoughts, and care to dress, and visiting, and the pretentious ordering of her household, and not lose something of her womanliness. And when you *have* reflected, buy the muslin instead of the silk and the grenadine, put the money saved into United States securities, or make any other wise use of it, and be happy.

SILKS.

Silks are very rich and very costly. The stripe is the newest and most fashionable pattern, but good taste still insists on the self-colored robes, which are abundant. Prices are not less in these beautiful fabrics, and a really good silk costs $3 per yard, and all intermediate prices to $11. Very pretty thin silks for young ladies toilets may be bought for $2, and even a little less, but they will not prove durable. The beautiful Irish poplins, which are really more desirable than any silks except the costliest, are sold now for 20 shillings a yard, and are of good width. The delicate shades, gray, drab, pearl, lavender, pale green, and blue, and salmon, will be the prevailing hues.

CLOAKS.

At last the basquine, dear to women who have graceful figures, and, alas, to too many who have not, is to fold its skirts like the Arab—which went out two years ago, and left nobody to mourn its vanished ugliness—and as silently pass away. It is too warm for Spring, and too inconvenient, except for full dress. It will be succeeded by the short Spanish circular, daintily trimmed with ribbon or fringe; by the Talma, with its indefinite capes, pinked and scolloped, and which, it must be confessed, gives one the appearance of being shingled; and by the sleeveless sacque, of rich silk, and elaborately trimmed. The latter garment does not crush the sleeves of the dress, but may be properly worn only with a robe of its own color. Nothing could be more awkward than two long green or blue arms extending from a black body, except the uncomfortable legs of a turtle protruding from its mottled-shell. As these garments are all new they will be expensive. It is far cheaper to buy the material and make it up at home. The pattern of either may be bought of Madame Demorest for a trifling sum.

BONNETS.

After the Empire and the absurd little high-crowned bonnets, it seemed that no head-dress could appal one. But the atomies which fill the band-boxes of the milliners and empty the purses of customers, are incredible phantasies. "That way madness lies." There is the little crownless bonnet with a tiny brim of straw, and a tinier cape of straw, and only a fall of lace over the hair. These are dainty and costly, and except that they are not of the slightest use as a covering for the head may pass unchallenged. There remains the Pamela, and the Watteau, What ignorant sin poor Pamela committed that she should be perpetuated in these bonnets, and her memory become a hissing and a by-word, we know not. They are shaped like a butter-dish, with a preposterous fissure in the middle of the forehead, and an amazing curled projection on either side of the face. They are seen in silk, chip and steel-sprinkled straw, and each is uglier than the other. They have no outline which conforms to the shape of the human head, and they are an insult to good sense and a reckless wounding of good taste. We are not mad, most noble ladies, but speak the words of truth and soberness. When, in the name of Fashion, every law of grace and fitness is violated, and an enormity which is not even useful—for this bonnet is smaller than its predecessor—flaunts itself before you, pray you avoid it. The Watteau has the front of the old Gipsy, and a stiff, uncomfortable crown. It reminds one of the plates in old Annuals, "The Pride of the Village," "The Rose of the Valley," "The Flowret of the Vale." A simpering young woman with exaggerated ankles, and an obtrusive pail, leaning against the railing of a rustic bridge, and for whom you could never feel any sympathy, because of the surpassing ugliness of her bonnet, which was extremely like this Watteau, except that it had the shining merit of being a great deal bigger. There is one shape more. A very tiny hat with the Empire front, but with an open crown to be filled with puffings of silk or lace. This is the least bad of all, and, we trust, may be most popular.

Bonnets like these—so small as to be useless, thus transgressing the first law of good taste, which is fitness; so *outré* in shape and pronounced in style as to defy the second law, which is beauty; so fragile, and of necessity ephemeral, as to set at naught the third, which is service—demand a redress of grievances. When the milliners insist, through their work, that they have neither conscience in charges nor taste in handicraft, why not accept their estimate and try to do without them? Those skillful fingers of yours, industrious Julia, which make innumerable Afghans, and slippers, and crotcheted mats, and footstools, and altar cloths, and bookmarks, in the course of the Winter, would give to the world little poems of bonnets, if you would but let them. Think what style of hat is best adapted to our skies, and our ideas of life, and your own circumstances, and your kindly, sensible face, and in a moment of inspiration compose that coiffure, and become the admiration of your acquaintances.

MODES.

Suits will be worn this Spring as much as ever. That is, dress, cloak and bonnet of the same color, if not of the same material. It is a quiet, ladylike and useful fashion, adapting one set of garments for the street, and preserving all others from its defilements. The short petticoats and looped frocks are still the mode.

For the house almost all dresses are cut gored. While hoops are popular no other method insures graceful folds to the drapery, and it is economical as well.

Flounces are again fashionable, one deep one being considered most stylish. Skirts in tunic form, very long behind, are much worn, and the premeditated extravagance of double skirts threatens to be popular. Round waists are much more worn than points, the belt matching the trimming in hue. Fanciful jackets for negligé, of velvet, silk, or alpaca, very jaunty and pretty, have the most secure hold on fashionable protection.

Sleeves are still very small, shaped at the elbow, and permitting only the narrowest under-sleeve. Narrow collars, and deep cuffs in linen, and deeply pointed collars in lace are the rule.

In reality, supreme and absolute Fashion, with her retinue of new modes around her, has not yet debarked from the Havre steamer. It is only her "Harry Mercary"—as the excellent Mrs. Malaprop observes, apropos of Hamlet—who has told us what we have here set down.

But, dear ladies, if you will but meditate on the real meaning and significance of dress, so that you shall choose wisely when lovely April comes with her lap full of beautiful Spring apparel, if you will but remember that costliness is not beauty, and grotesqueness is not style, the mild philosopher of the *Tribune* will feel that he has not lived in vain.

BURIED ALIVE.—EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENTS.

Paris Correspondence of the London Times.

M. DE LAGUERONNIERE presented a petition in the Senate, on Tuesday, from a person named De Cornol, "pointing out the danger of hasty interments, and suggesting the measures he thought requisite to avoid terrible consequences." Among other things, the petitioner demands that the space of twenty-four hours between the decease and interment, now prescribed by the law, should be lengthened to forty-eight hours; that an electrical apparatus should be kept in the sacristry of each church, and that the parish priests and their curates should be taught how to work it; that the body should, after the lapse of forty-eight hours, be submitted to the last and most powerful electric test; that the solid wooden lid of coffins should be done away with, and replaced by a covering of canvas, to be lifted up at the moment the remains are laid in the grave, in order to ascertain, beyond all possibility of doubt, that life is completely extinct, and that what appears to be death is not merely a lethargic sleep.

A rather long debate followed, in which Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux, took a leading part. He was decidedly of opinion that the petition should not be set aside by the "order of the day," but that it should be transmitted to the Minister of the Interior for further action. Some of the remarks of the venerable prelate produced so great an effect on his auditors as to merit particular mention. He said he had the very best reasons for believing that the victims of hasty interments were more numerous than the people supposed. He considered the rules and regulations on this head, as prescribed by law, as very judicious; but unfortunately, they were, particularly in the country, not always executed as they should be, nor was sufficient importance attached to them. In the village he was stationed in as assistant curate, in the first period of his sacerdotal life, he saved two persons from being buried alive. The first was an aged man, who lived twelve hours after the hour prescribed for his interment by the municipal officer. The second was a man who was quite restored to life; and, in both cases, a trance, more prolonged than usual, was taken for actual death. The other instances I give in the words of the Archbishop:

"The next case that occurred to me was at Bordeaux. A young lady, who bore one of the most distinguished names in the department, had passed through what was believed to be the last agony; and as, apparently, all was over, the father and mother were torn away from the heart-rending spectacle. As God willed it, I happened to pass by the door of the house at the moment, when it occurred to me to call and inquire how the young lady was going on. When I entered the room, the nurse, finding the body breathless, was in the act of covering the face, and, indeed, there was every appearance that life had departed. Somehow or other, it did not seem to me so certain as to the bystanders. I resolved to try. I raised my voice, called loudly upon the young lady not to give up all hope; that I was come to cure her, and that I was about to pray by her side. 'You do not see me,' I said, 'but you hear what I am saying.' My presentiments were not unfounded. The word of hope I uttered reached her ear, and effected a marvellous change; or rather, called back the life that was departing. The young girl survived; she is now a wife and a mother of children, and is this day the happiness of two most respectable families."

The Archbishop mentions another instance of a similar revival in a town of Hungary, during the cholera of 1831, which he had heard that day from one of his colleagues of the Senate, as they were mounting the staircase. But the last he related is so interesting, and made such a sensation, that it deserves to be repeated in his words:

"In the summer of 1826, on a close and sultry day, in a church which was excessively crowded, a young priest who was in the act of preaching, was suddenly seized with giddiness, in the pulpit. The words he was uttering became indistinct, he soon lost the power of speech and sunk down on the floor. He was taken out of the church and carried home. All was thought to be over. Some hours after the funeral bell was tolled, and the usual preparations made for the interment. His eyesight was gone; but if he could not see like the young lady I have alluded to, he could hear, and I need not say that what reached his ears was not calculated to reassure him. The doctor came, examined him, and pronounced him dead, and after the usual inquiries as to his age and the place of his birth, gave permission for his interment next morning. The venerable Bishop in whose cathedral the young priest was preaching when he was seized with the fit, came to his bedside to recite the *De Profundis.* The body was measured for the coffin. Night came on, and you will easily feel how inexpressible was the anguish of the living being in such a situation. At last, amid the voices murmuring around him, he distinguished that of one who had known him from his infancy. That voice produced a marvellous effect, and a superhuman effort. Of what followed next I need say no more than that the seemingly dead man stood next day in the same pulpit. That young priest, gentlemen, is the same man who is now before you, and who, more than forty years after that event, implores those in authority not merely to watch vigilantly over the careful execution of the legal prescriptions with regard to interments, but to enact fresh ones, in order to prevent the recurrence of irreparable misfortunes."

As I have said, the recital by the Cardinal of what occurred to him produced a profound sensation, and, in spite of all that could be alleged, by the reporter of the petition, the Senate voted for referring it to the Minister of the Interior.

HUNTING IN ENGLAND.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Evening Post.

I SHOULD say the life of most Englishmen between thirty and sixty who can afford to subscribe £5 a year to hunt, was from ten in the morning to six in the evening in the saddle, in red coat, blue cravat, white breeches and top boots. During the Autumn and Winter there are meets of different packs every day, except Sunday, at distances from three to thirty miles from any and every place where you may happen to be. If the hounds meet at a moderate distance, you either ride over quietly on your hunter, or sending him very early in the morning, you ride over on your hack, and find your hunter fresh for you at the place where the hounds throw off.

If, on the contrary, the meet (usually at eleven o'clock) takes place twenty or thirty miles off, you put yourself into some early train, of which there always seems one just right about nine, and your horse into a hunting van—of which there are several attached to every train—and in an hour you are thirty miles off, and your horse perfectly fresh. You follow the hounds ten, twenty, thirty miles, and when the fox or the day is ended your pocket Bradshaw will tell you the nearest station where you can find a horse van, never over five or six miles, and seven or eight o'clock finds you quietly seated at dinner. Nothing more remains for the hunting Englishman than to regulate the tie of his white cravat, which is apt to twist after dinner nearer his ear than his chin, feel quite confident of being able to say "Tooral Rooral Country," or join the ladies for his cup of coffee before he retires to bed.

A NIMROD.

The great nimrod in England just now is the Duke of Beaufort, who, with his son, the Marquis of Worcester, hunts every day except Sunday, from October to the 8th of May, in order to kill the May fox. The Duke's place, Badminton, in Gloucestershire, about thirteen miles from Bath, has a very superb house, with an avenue of beeches four hundred years old, and the avenue is three miles long and five hundred feet wide, in beautifully soft and green turf; the park abounding in deer, among them a great many red deer, unusual in England.

The feature of the place is the stud. We were fortunate in falling into the hands of the stud groom, a gentlemanly, intelligent person, who gave us a thorough insight into hunting life. He exhibited to us forty thorough-bred hunters in active service, besides quantities of hacks, carriage horses, ponies for the Duchess and children, etc. The Duke requires twelve fresh hunters every day (rain, snow or storm never deter him from going out); three for himself, three for the Marquis of Worcester, who is only nineteen—the Duke about forty—three for the huntsman, and one for each of the three whippers-in.

The horses are always sent the night before to the meet, unless it may be within five miles, when they are walked over very early in the morning.

The dogs are sent over in three vans, each drawn by four mules. The Duke always drives over in a four-in-hand drag, changing horses every ten miles, the change being sent over like the hunters, either the night before or very early in the morning.

The work the Duke did the day we were at Badminton (as we found out the day after from a postillion who drove us to Bowood, the Marquis of Lonsdowne's) was as follows: He left Badminton at nine o'clock in a four-in-hand drag, driving himself twenty miles to Chippenham with two changes. Here he mounted his first horse—the second being ridden across the country by short cuts and by a light groom. The hounds threw off at Sloperton Cottage, famous as being so long the residence of Tom Moore, near Devices. They ran the hounds eighteen miles before killing it—eighteen miles back, making thirty-six miles—brought the Duke to Chippenham about seven in the evening, where, resuming his drag, he drove home to Badminton, getting there to dinner by nine. The hunters and dogs in the vans reached home about eleven, p.m. The stud groom said he supposed the Duke daily averaged thirty or forty miles in the saddle, besides twenty to fifty in the drag. The next day twelve fresh horses and another pack of hounds and so on all Winter. The stable yard was filled with grooms, helpers, post boys, and white leather breeches fluttering in the wind to dry.

In the porch of the beautiful old church connected with and adjoining the house, and where all his ancestors are buried, including his uncle, Lord Raglan, who was the English commander-in-chief in the Crimea, were four pair of the Duke's leather breeches, freshly pipe-clayed, knocking in the wind against the church door. H. W. S.

WONDERFUL OPTICAL ILLUSIONS.

PROFESSOR PEPPER, delivering lectures on optics in London, gives some new and astonishing experiments in illustration of optical illusions, the most remarkable of which are called "the Modern Delphic Oracle" and "the Fairy Casket." In introducing the former, the professor calls upon the audience to call to mind ancient Greece. The curtain rises and the interior of a Grecian temple is disclosed. Drapery in the background is pushed one side, and a figure, classically costumed and reading intently a scroll which he holds in one hand, advances. The professor explains that the figure must be supposed to represent a noble Athenian, erudite and highly gifted. Through an acquaintanceship which he had formed with one of the priests of Isis the learned individual gets possession of a sacred scroll, which informs him that, by means of certain charms and incantations, he can hold converse with the dead. He proceeds to do so at once; and after some formalities he calls upon Socrates. Slowly the curtain through which the Athenian before appeared is drawn aside, and a head, apparently floating in the air, is disclosed. There seems to be no mistake about the head being human. It is, apparently, Socrates, and seemingly "all alive."

Gradually the eyes open and look about most naturally, and in obedince to the demand of the Athenian the voice of Socrates is heard pronouncing his own opinion of the decision of his judges. To render the illusion as real as possible an instrument is placed in front of the stage, which has the effect of throwing a strong reflection on any object that comes between it and the papered wall at the back of the stage, The reflection of the head, and the head alone, on the background, adds much to the bewilderment with which the spectator, not in the secret, witnesses it. Besides, as the head delivers itself of the beautiful lines with which it is instructed, the beard is observed to move with each articulation of the voice. Yet the whole is, as the professor takes some trouble to remind his audience, when any fresh cause for surprise is unfolded, nothing more than a simple illusion.

The "Fairy Casket" is equally surprising. It consists of a strong table some four feet high, with four legs, which are open to the inspection of all. On this table is deposited a large glass box, of nearly the same size as the table. The whole is covered with drapery, when it is brought in front of the stage, close to the foot-lights. The closest inspection is invited. On the covering being removed the table and glass box, as above described, appear. The glass box seems to contain black velvet and charcoal. The professor opens the box and fills it still further with what appears to be more charcoal. He then orders his assistant to shut down the glass lid and cover the box. In a few minutes the box is uncovered and it appears to be filled with white satin instead of black velvet and roses instead of charcoal. A white satin cushion is taken out of the box, and after it a real live fairy is handed up from its depths, nimbly extricates herself, and bows her acknowledgments of the greetings with which she is received. The box is again covered and uncovered. The result is that the black velvet and charcoal again appear in the interior. The contents of the box are again produced. They consist of a large black cushion and a most interesting looking little negro, who, after jumping out of the box, throws himself in a kneeling attitude, and appealing to the audience, says, "Am I not a man and a brother?" These are the two principal illusions which have been, we understand, drawing such vast numbers to the Polytechnic ever since their production.

SOCIETY IN CHILI.

A WRITER in *Macmillan's Magazine* gives the following account of society in Chili—a country which is now attracting an unusual share of attention:

"Education is making progress in Chili under the fostering care of an enlightened government. The population of the country is about one million five hundred thousand, and the attendance at the schools, public and private, is about fifty thousand. A much larger number of persons can read, however, than one would imagine from those figures. We presume the average period of attendance at school is very short, which makes the quantum of education, such as it is, suffice for a much larger number of inhabitants than it ought to do. It is noteworthy that the Roman Catholic clergy do almost nothing in the way of promoting educational efforts.

"Indeed, where there is the faintest odor of heresy about the educational exertions of foreigners, a note of warning is instantly and loudly sounded by the Church; but as, in the English and German academies in the larger towns, a better education is provided than can be obtained elsewhere, these warnings are not greatly needed by intelligent parents.

"The better class in Chili are tolerably well educated. In Santiago there is a respectable university, an institute or high school, and a theological seminary, the last being in the hands of the Jesuits or Ultramontanes, and designed to prepare a priesthood for the service of the national Church. It is but poorly attended, and throughout the country the altar is in a great measure served by Spanish, French, Italian and Irish priests. The university is chiefly devoted to the study of law or medicine. A high classical or mathematical curriculum is not insisted on, nor, we apprehend, is it obtainable. The rector of the university, Don Andres Bello, is a fine old man, now nearly ninety years of age, a scholar of some eminence, a poet, and once an able diplomatist. Venezuelan by birth, he followed his celebrated countryman, Bolivar, and during the wars of the Independence was resident in Europe as secretary to the representatives of some of the rebellious provinces—then embryo republics. He has lived to see the honorable labors of his ardent youth largely repaid in the advancing civilization of the majority of the South American States. Bello's Commentary on Public Law is known and appreciated wherever the Spanish language is spoken. His Latin Grammar is also an admirable text book.

"Among the women of Chili, education is not so well attended to, nor so widely disseminated as among the men. In the art of writing, they are particularly deficient, the epistles of a Chilian lady, as compared with the note of an accomplished English woman, being like the productions of a country servant girl. There is, however, no lack of polish and refinement of manners among the better families in the Chilian capital. Music is very generally studied, and many of the young ladies render the operas of Verdi and Bellini with a skill and power rarely found in non-professional circles.

"The Chilians are frank, accessible, courteous and hospitable. The unaffected kindness which one meets with, especially at their estates or haciendas, makes a lasting and most favorable impression. In the cities there is, perhaps, less outward expression of the hospitality. A foreigner is very rarely invited to dine, and is seldom asked to stay at his friend's house, in the city—but in the country it is entirely different. Everything is there placed at the guest's disposal, and his comfort is studied in every possible way—all with the most hearty and sincere good will.

"In the cities the evening is devoted to visiting. Unless one is on terms of very great intimacy, a visit during the day is as unacceptable as it would be unlooked for. The evening tertulia, with its pleasant gossip, is an agreeable recreation. The round tea-table is an institution in Chili, and English folks on visiting terms at native houses are not reduced to syrups or eau sucre.

THIS is the way Mr. F. Grant, just chosen President of the Royal Academy of London, the tip-top place in art, came to be a painter: As a young man, he had purchased the evanescent pleasures of life at considerable cost, before he resolved to make up for lost time, by studying for the bar. At that period his sketching powers were the admiration of his family and friends; and on the occasion of his brother departing for India, where he has achieved a renown of his own, Mr. F. Grant, almost while the leave-taking was going on, sketched a likeness of the young soldier, for possession of which every member of the family lovingly contended. In mirthful humor, the portrait-sketch was put up to auction, and knocked down at twenty guineas. This result led the young artist to believe that he should never earn a score of guineas at the bar so easily and pleasantly as he might at the easel. Forthwith, instead of reading and drawing up deeds in the chamber of a special pleader, Mr. Grant entered the studio, and became the pupil of the Scottish artist, Gordor. Such was the first round of the ladder which has led him to his present elevation.

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(NOT A WHISKEY PREPARATION.)

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GERMAN BITTERS,

WILL CURE

DEBILITY! DEBILITY!

Resulting from any cause whatsoever.

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INDUCED BY

SEVERE HARDSHIPS,

EXPOSURE,

FEVERS,

OR

DISEASES OF CAMP LIFE.

SOLDIERS, CITIZENS, MALE OR FEMALE, ADULT OR YOUTH,

will find this Bitters a pure Tonic, not dependent on bad liquors for their almost miraculous effects.

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DYSPEPSIA,

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ARE CURED BY

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This Bitters has performed more cures, gives better satisfaction, has more testimony, has more respectable people to vouch for it, than any other article in the market.

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We defy any one to contradict this assertion, and

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HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BITTERS,

WILL CURE EVERY CASE OF

CHRONIC OR NERVOUS DEBILITY

AND

DISEASES OF THE KIDNEYS.

F

Observe the following Symptoms, resulting from Disorders of the Digestive Organs:

Constipation, Inward Piles, Fulness of Blood to the Head, Acidity of the Stomach, Nausea, Heartburn, Disgust for Food, Fulness or Weight in the Stomach, Sour Eructations, Sinking or Fluttering at the Pit of the Stomach, Swimming of the Head, Hurried and Difficult Breathing, Fluttering at the Heart, Choking or Suffocating Sensations when in a lying posture, Dimness of Vision, Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever and Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of Perspiration, Yellowness of the Skin and eyes, Pain in the Side, Back, Chest, Limbs, etc., Sudden Flushes of Heat, Burning in the Flesh, Constant Imaginings of Evil, Great Depression of Spirits.

L

REMEMBER,

that this Bitters is not Alcoholic, contains no Rum or Whiskey, and cannot make Drunkards, but is the Best Tonic in the World.

READ WHO SAYS SO.

[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, Phil.]

GENTLEMEN: I have recently been laboring under the distressing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a prostration of the nervous system. Numerous remedies were recommended by friends, and some of them tested, but without relief. Your Hoofland's German Bitters were recommended by persons who had tried them, and whose favorable mention of these Bitters induced me to try them. I must confess that I had an aversion to Patent Medicines from the "thousand and one" quack "Bitters," whose only aim seems to be to palm off sweetened and drugged liquor upon the community in a sly way, and the tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a confirmed drunkard. Upon learning that yours was really a medicinal preparation, I took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only upon the stomach, but upon the nervous system, was prompt and gratifying. I feel that I have derived great and permanent benefit from the use of a few bottles. Very respectfully yours,

W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A

[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]

I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.

Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]

From the many respectable recommendations given to Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to give them a trial After using several bottles I found them to be a good remedy for debility, and a most excellent tonic for the stomach.

D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]

Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.

Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,
966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N

[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]

I have been frequently requested to connect my name with commendations of different kinds of medicines, but regarding the practice as out of my appropriate sphere, I have in all cases declined; but with a clear proof in various instances, and particularly in my own family, of the usefulness of Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I depart for once from my usual course, to express my full conviction that, *for general debility of the system, and especially for Liver Complaint, it is a safe and valuable preparation.* In some cases it may fail; but usually, I doubt not, it will be very beneficial to those who suffer from the above causes.

Yours, very respectfully,
J. H. KENNARD, Eighth, below Coates st.
Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864

Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Reformed Church, Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dyspepsia of twenty years' standing.

A. M. Spangler, Editor of the *Culturist*, No. 25 North Sixth st., Philadelphia, says this Bitters was recommended to him by a medical friend, and six bottles cured him of complete prostration of the nervous system.

Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge and *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.;

Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxborough Baptist Church;

Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Pemberton, N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Church, Phil., at present Pastor of the Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.

These gentlemen express, in the strongest terms, their favorable opinion of these Bitters.

D

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☞ Should your nearest Druggist not have the article, do not be put off by any other of the intoxicating preparations that may be offered in its place; but send to us, and we will forward, securely packed, by express.

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This taint (HEREDITARY and ACQUIRED), filling life with untold misery, is by all usual medical remedies incurable.

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If there is any disease in which the Constituton Life Syrup is a sovereign, it is in Rheumatism and its kindred affections. The most intense pains are almost immediately alleviated—enormous swellings are reduced. Cases, chronic or vicarious, of 20 or 30 years standing, have been cured by us.

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CONSTITUTION LIFE SYRUP purges the system entirely from all the evil effects of MERCURY, removing the Bad Breath, and curing the Weak Joints and Rheumatic Pains which the use of Calomel is sure to produce. It hardens Spongy Gums and secures the teeth as firmly as ever.

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eradicates, root and branch,